In the line of fire . . . Robble Fowler curls a free kick around the United wall for Liverpool's first goal

# Safety-first Liverpool rout limp United

T MAY still be a little too soon to start talking about defining modestinies of championships are often shaped in circumstances such It was another fine weekend for

Newcastle United. A somewhat fortunate victory over Everton at St James' Park on Saturday was followed on Sunday by the defeat — the rout — of their closest, perhaps only, rivals for the Premiership title. Manchester United, however, could argue that Liverpool's football

Women toy with small vegetables

1 Shocking service makes one

something is missing (5)

for new arrangement (9)

student takes a wife (2-3)

the race track (9)

with stone in it (9)

14 Relation formed when popular

16 A meeting for a large number on.

12 7's distraught at an indication that

13 Composer and artist call enclosely

British Rail (7)

scowi (7)

Cryptic crossword by Chifonie

the season as it did against them at Anfield. Maybe, but the gap between the Uniteds is now seven points - far from insurmountable, of course, with half the season to go but certainly daunting.

Football being the cruel game it is at times, Newcastle may yet stumble and fall. They proved themselves capable of it last season. On this evidence, though, Manchester United would struggle to capitalise even if Invited to do so. Only as the match entered its final quarter did they begin even to flirt with the idea of

20 Reckon to allow incursion of

23 Proprieties derived from custom

or established behaviour (5)

25 Having a liking for painting one

cent booze (7)

Quitel (7,6)

Down

24 The galley cabinet contains 60 per

26 In an ideal situation for a meeting?

2 Something seen when the sun's

found in intimate surroundings (7)

soldiers in a state of confusion (9)

an audacious act of piracy so outclassed were they on a stage which has often proved to their liking.

Liverpool will feel aggrieved that the margin of victory was so narrow for their performance was deserving of far more.

For once Alex Ferguson made no attempt to disguise his frustration with the team. Too often in the past he has chosen to defend the indefensible. He stopped short of actually lavishing praise upon Liverpool, but that is the nature of the beast.

"Our first-half performance was

6 Burn curry all around the

8 is Lucifer responsible for

7 Get trace elements to recombine

dyafunctional marriage? (8,5)

9 Very upset, and with no one else

around, apparently (6,7)

21 Name first class country (5)

23 Inspector makes 23 across turn

unacceptable (0,3)

fickle person (9)

in school (9)

22 Fill a tankard? (5)

Last week's solution

5 Spent, burnt material in fuse's

6 A bit of eclair in tea with fruit for a

Self-control shown by the others

restauranti (9)

Though much of Sunday's tauni 3 It's not appropriate to upset a pot Part of the body prone to

players.
Liverpool's black November had served to raise the first pertinen questions about Roy Evans's hith 5 Trouble in Reading is deep-rooted erto successful managership, It was ironic really because, having used the safety-first policy of a five-man defence to lift his club away from the ruins of Graeme Sounces's brief

turning. He has a belief in a system and there is no room for negotiation. With Ruddock and Babb absent through injury, the way was clear to revert to a more orthodox formation — circumstances had presented the manager with an op-

Once Robbie Fowler's splendid free kick had drifted beyond the unsighted Schmeichel after 44 minutes the die was cast. Collymore went on to miss chance after chance - Schmeichel denied him eight times - but it did not really matter as Fowler wrapped up proceedings of Ireland in Stuttgart, it may be just with a proficient finish just before

is unlikely to display the same mesmerising conviction for the rest of ceeded, it would have represented years," said Ferguson. "All things years," said Ferguson. "All things considered it was really poor."

Liverpool probably cannot capture the title this season but denying the old enemy from along the East Lancs Road would give them only marginally less pleasure than vinning it themselves.

The two clubs "enjoy" a rivalry that too often threatens to breach the boundaries between sensible behaviour and undiluted hostility. United envy Liverpool's past, Liver pool envy United's present.

ing was in rather poor taste, it did at east generate an extraordinary at mosphere that at times seemed to drain away the fluidity and compo sure of even the most experienced

and turbulent reign, it was his sense of over-caution which many saw fit

portunity to unburden himself.

Typically he chose not to do so. lones moved to the left, McAteer to the right and Harkness to the centre. Not that any member of the Liverpool defence was required to

break sweat until the latter stages. That United departed for their half-time dressing-down just one team would have been rendered tish fans, celebrating a 2-1 victory. helpless by the sheer ferocity of Liverpool's attacking football.

Euro '96 draw

#### England face Auld Enemy

**David Lacey** 

☐ NGLAND were this week given a draw for the 1996 European Championship which enhanced their chances of reaching the tourns ment's knock-out stage. But before that can happen, Terry Venables! players must face a passionale revival of football's oldest inter national fixture.

Switzerland will be England's on ponents in the opening match of the tournament at Wembley on June 8 Holland, on the evidence of the Antield performance last week, will provide the hosts' toughest opposi tion of the first round when the come to Wembley 10 days later.

In the play-off to join the other is finalists, Holland beat the Republic of Ireland 2-0, both goals coming from Patrick Kluivert, the gifted 19 year-old who had won the Champions Cup for Ajax last May.

Holland dominated the gam from the start and the teenaged drilled home the first in the 29th minute before coolly chipping t second close to time.

In the draw at Birmingham's k ternational Convention Centre, th

The Draw

3. Holland	influential ships The Flork
Greup B 1 Spali 2 Bulgarie 3 Fomenie 4 France	Afficiency in page of a second Of James Affic
Group C 1. Germady 2. Ozech Rep 3. Italy 4. Flugelo:	Chi Trafford offi
Group D 1. Denmark 2. Portugal 3. Turkey	Mariche kale jiliyada Hilatorian

moment that drew the biggest gasp from the audience came when East land were placed in Scotland's group The two sides will come face t face at Wembley on June 15, having last met at Hampden Park in 1989 when Bobby Robson's team won 20.

The previous season Peter Bear sley scored the only goal against th Scots at Wembley. The countries have never played one another in

the finals of a major tournament.

The annual fixture, first played in
1872, was abandoned after English
fans had been involved in volence in Glasgow city centre before the 1989 match. There had been trouble invaded the Wembley pitch and de

molished one of the goals.

Both Venables and Scotland's coach Craig Brown made the right sort of noises about always wanting to see the fixture revived, But, it membering how England lost the opening match of the 1988 European Championship to the Republic as well they will not be encounted ing the Scots on June 8.

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TROVATORE

# TheGuardian Weekly

Week ending January 7, 1996

# Tory crisis after another MP defects

OHN MAJOR interrupted his holiday break at Chequers on New Year's Day to talk to his closest cabinet colleagues about the deepening crisis within Britain's Conservative party, caused by the defection of Tory MP Emma Nicholson to the Liberal Democrats.

Among those Mr Major consulted was Brian Mawhinney, party chairman, who is on holiday in America with his family but who has been asked for regular briefings on the situation which could lead to an early general election. The next meeting of the Cabinet is not due until next weck, but Mr Major may summon key colleagues earlier i the in-fighting sparked by her defection gets even further out of hand.

Senior Tories on Monday conreded that Mr Major could be leading a minority government by the summer, as the Defence Secretary, Michael Portillo, reopened the divisions within the Conservatives by claiming it was "incredible" to sug-gest the party had lurched to the

In the wake of Ms Nicholson's delection, senior right-wing figures, including the former party chairman Lord Tebbit and failed leadership contender John Redwood, urged Mr Major to carry on until May 1997, but admitted that he could soon be without a majority.

Senior sources said this situation could come as early as the summer, with two byelections pending and forecasters predicting disastrous results in the May local elections.

Both Lord Tebbit and Mr Redwood said the Government should continue to govern as long as it could win a confidence vote. Mr Major has already stressed that he will not be forced into an early election and that he would not "cut and run" in the face of political diffi-Ms Nicholson, whose defection

Andrew Higgins in Hong Kong and John Mullin

chief is the Queen Mother, were

said this week to have become

Chinese triads in Hong Kong

August 1994. The Ministry of Defence is

where the regiment served until

checking the reports, which ap-

peared in the Hong Kong-based

Bastern Express newspaper.

OLDIERS from the Black

Watch, whose colonel-in-

embroiled in the notorious

leaves the Government facing a majority of just one after the two forthcoming byelections, had said that the Conservative party's lurch to the right - particularly on Europe - had been one of the reasons why she decided to jump ship.
But on Monday Mr Portillo insisted on BBC radio that it was corrent of personal abuse against

"very silly to say that the party has dilted to the right — that is completely incredible".

Emma Nicholson is exactly helping."

The former prime minister, Sir Edward Heath, issued a rebuke to tilted to the right — that is com-pletely incredible".

He added: "I think the party is probably much the same. We have a broad breadth of opinion within the

But leading figures on the Tory left immediately responded by say-ing that Mr Portillo was only exacerbating tensions in the party just as unity was needed to get over the defection of two backbenchers in three months. Alan Howarth, MP for Stratford-on-Avon, defected to Labour in October.

Peter Temple-Morris, MP for Leominster, who leads a recently launched pro-Europe and one-nation faction of Tory backbenchers, said Mr Portillo represented "the very worrying tilt to the right about which many of us are concerned". He added: "I don't think that the

At least a dozen members of the Black Watch, officially called

the Royal Highland Regiment,

were said to have taken initiation

oaths in Cantonese, mastered

assumed low-rank positions in

The rank they are said to have

held was "4 9", part of a com-plax numerological code desig-nating criminal hierarchies

dating back to the 17th century.

Each gang member must make

36 loyalty oaths — the product

secret hand signals and

the Sun Yee On triad.

Black Watch troops 'joined Hong Kong triad' Initially patriotic rather th

Mr Portillo and called for an end to

recriminations. "What I regret is that members of the Cabinet should be indulging in this sort of language and this approach," he said. But Mi Redwood urged Mr Major to adopt more rightwing policies in order to try to claw back Labour's 30 per

cent lead in the polls.

With Parliament due to resume on January 9, Mr Major has been concentrating his efforts on rallying grassroots supporters, by stressing servatism and emphasising the Gov-

The nine official Ulster Unionist MPs have confirmed that they will not seek to bring down the Govern-ment by voting against it, provided that the Government refuses to compromise in its demands for the | Comment, page 12"

of the numbers making up the

British troops are alleged to

have come into contact with tri-

ada while working as freelance

councers in the bars and night-

ctional 1950s prostitute Suzie

clubs of Wanchai, home of the

Wong, and a favourite destina-tion for visiting servicemen. The Sun Yee On is probably

the largest of some 50 triad

gangs operating in Hong Kong. Triad secret societies trace

their origins to the collapse of

rank's name.

IRA to begin disarming before Sing Fein can join all-party talks. But they were warned by the Nor

thern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, not to expect special treatment in return for their pledge. He insisted that the even-handed

approach to the peace process in Ulster would continue despite the reduction in the Government's The shadow foreign secretary

Robin Cook, said the public could see for themselves that the Government was adopting a rightwing agenda designed for purely party

"It is not a question of John Major himself being rightwing. It is that we have a weak prime minister who is running before the most voca wing of his party," he said.

Initially patriotic rather than

criminal, triads quickly turned from politics to extortion while

retaining much of the original ritual. Many nightclube, mah-

jong gaming parlours and bars in Hong Kong pay protection. Britain has cut its armed

forces in Hong Kong in the past

decade from nearly 13,000 to

due to go back next year for a

final tour that will end with the

Army on June 30, 1997.

Year of the puppet, page 5

about 3,000. The Black Watch is

arrival of the People's Liberation

#### Ailing Saudi king hands reins to heir

GW: 394.7,96 David Hirst in Beirut

ING FAHD this week handed of Saudi Arabia, the world's largest oil exporter and a mainstay of western policies in the Middle East, to his half-brother, Prince Abdullah.

The ailing monarch, who is about 73 and suffered a debilitating stroke in November, has not formally abdi-cated. But the signs are that he has transferred power permanently to his heir apparent, who is about a

The succession - the fifth since the kingdom's founder, Abdul Aziz, died in 1953 - was always expected to be a difficult one. The laconic announcement of what purports to be a provisional transfer of authority does not inspire confidence that i has been smoothly accomplished.

On the contrary, its being prompted by King Fahd's illness rather than his death, and the possibility of his recovery, make it problematic. Not only are there rivalries within the House of Saud, but the regime is under challenge.

Among its problems are the growth of an Islamist opposition novement; a middle class seaking to break the princely monopoly on decision-making; cuts in the vast welfare system; high-level corrup-tion; and foreign policies seen as subservient to the economic and political interests of the United States.

Prince Abdullah, who is known to favour less blatantly pro-American policies and more Arab self-reliance will, at least, bring about a change of style and emphasis. The question is whether he may collide with those within the ruling family — notably the Sudeiri clan to which King Fahd belongs - who want to keep the kingdom on its present course.

#### Arafat accused of poli tinkering

**US** military on trial in Okinawa

Queen orders royal divorce

**Qrim truth of** Holloway prison

Vermeer: genius of a Dutch master

1,	100			
Austria 1	AS30	,	Malte	46c
Beighm :	BF78		Netherlands	G 4.78
Denmark	DK18		Norway	NK 18
Finland	FM-10			E300
France	FF 13	٠.	Saudi Arabia	
Germany	DM 4		Spain	P 300
Greece	DR 400		Sweden	<b>8K 19</b>
Halv	1.300	0	Switzerland	SF 3.7

gone down causes wolf great 18 Retail outlet provides fresh stilca consternation (9) the final whistle.

Z Q A L O R D E ABOUTTURN OPERA

In 1972, Britain was the world's leader in nuclear energy production. There was universal support from government, industry, political parties, and even anti-nuclear bomb groups. In addition, the great majority of citizens believed government and industry propaganda that nuclear energy was safe, pollutionfree and would produce unlimited electricity that would be too cheap

ing a privatisation process, though

The nuclear industry and government were both well aware of the same facts that I used in my presentations: that nuclear energy was dangerous, outrageously uneconomical, and would require astronomical government subsidies. If nuclear energy always was too expensive, what happened to make it unacceptable to government and industry now?

What happened in the past 20 years was that a citizen-based social movement educated and mobilised a popular majority of citizens on the deliberately hidden realities of nu-clear energy's dangers and prohibitive costs. Nuclear power thereby became politically unviable, forcing government to change policy. A simllar process happened in every other industrialised nation and is still to be culminated in France and Japan, the last two pro-nuclear power holdouts.

The demise of nuclear energy, therefore, was not caused by the sudden discovery by "City accountants in striped suits" of something they knew all along, that nuclear energy is uneconomical. Rather, the government was forced to opt out of nuclear energy because of the effectiveness of "people power", by which a majorgovernment to do their will or suffer

Although the ending of nucles power is the result of democracy is action, the question for an advanced democracy remains: "Why did succeeding governments deceive the citizens on this critical issue for over 25 years?" Bill Moyer,

The Channon, NSW. Australia

THE FIELD of nuclear science and technology is often the victim of the intentional misuse of words and eventa by self-interest groups.

The chief of the new UK utility British Energy, announced recently that Nuclear Electric's application to build Sizewell C will be withdrawn. and no use would be made of the exsting planning consent for Hinkley C. In other words, the next two planned nuclear power units would

not be pursued "for the moment". Patrick Green, of the Friends of the Earth, proclaimed: "This is the final nail in the nuclear coffin." The Guardian Weekly ran an editorial on "UK nuclear power: RIP" (December 17). The lunatic fringe has curious

However, the purported front page "Britain opts out of nuclear power" and contained entirely unjustified editorial comment on the news at hand.

1 year

# *The* Guardian Weekly

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#### What was the truth of the matter? Robert Hawley, British Energy's World's children chief executive, actually said that, "Not only is it impossible to invest in need advocate new nuclear capacity at the moment

GRACA MACHEL is to be conbecause of the uncertainty over fitture UK energy prices, but the same study of the impact of war on children (December 17). Unicef has goes for any other form of new gen-Should then the headlines have been doing exactly that for some 50 read "UK opts out of energy"? Of years, alerting the world to the plight course not, because Hawley went on of children as the tragic events to say, "Our AGR |Advanced Gas occur. Yet despite their reports being well-written and well-presented, their Cooled Reactor] and PWR stations have long planned operating lives pleas on behalf of the world's chilahead of them, and we need to condren have often gone unheeded. In part to address the shocking ca-

solidate their profitability." sualties inflicted, a World Summit for Thua, a more accurate news iten Children was held at the United Namight have been headed: "Installed tions in New York in September UK nuclear capacity saves the coun-1990. Their World Declaration was try from additional coal or gas generating capacity — and the consequent inspiring and was followed by a Plan of Action. One of the opening senollution." Or: "Nuclear saves this tences reads: "We have gathered here at the World Summit to under-Green and Pleasant Land." While we cannot expect the editotake a joint commitment to give

rial staff to know enough to make these clear deductions, we should be able to expect a higher standard of journalistic ethics to reign in the production of a newspaper.

'M NO supporter of the British

Labour party, but I can say from

Australian experience that whatever

other guidance Mr Blair derives

from the Australian Labor Party

("Keating has a lesson for New

Labour", December 17), he would do

Labor portrays the accord as a Grail, but in fact it is nothing but a

pact between the political and indus-

rial wings of the labour movement

luence at the heart of government

and as a result, a low wage/low pro-

ductivity relations system. Con-cluded over the heads of Australian

This pact has in fact cut rer

vages (Mr Kettle's 7 per cent figure

is only for full-time workers; overall

cent under Labor) and the latest ac-

cord actually guarantees a further

cut of \$8.25 a week to the lowest

paid. Labor claims that the accord has been responsible for the decline

in industrial disputes; in fact the rate of industrial disputes in Australia

over the past decade tracked the

OECD-wide trend down, bottomed

out at a level much higher than that

last year has been rising again. No-

vember/December saw the worst outbreak of industrial conflict in

more than a decade, with a national

wharf strike costing the country £50

million. And the accord has ensured

a rate of productivity increase which

The accord gives union bosses an

have used to veto the industrial

relations reform which is one of the

most urgent priorities facing Aus-

tralia. Without reform, the rank and

file will continue to suffer the

they have experienced under Labor.

forthcoming election, it will be at the

hands of disaffected cratwhile Labor

supporters. How Ironic it would be if

Mr Blair were to adopt such a failed

concept as the accord at the heart of

his re-election strategy.

Canberra, Australia

Relations,

Shadow Minister of Industrial

If Mr Keating is defeated in the

vorkers, it has cost them dear.

vell to eschew an accord process.

eration in the short term."

ance, understanding and dialogue".
Four months later, UN forces attacked Iraq. A Harvard University report described the children of Iraq as the most traumatised children of war ever found. And the children of Poor lesson Iraq are still suffering, five years on, from the current UN embargo. from Australia

So much for the World Summit for Children. So much for the UN Security Council whose permanent members supply 85 per cent of the weapons used to maim and kill children for commercial profit.

every child a better future." Conclud-

ing words included "peace, toler-

Some way has to be found to reduce the death, misery and destruction inflicted on children in times of armed conflict. The UN, sadly, is unlikely to be the vehicle for such an

Some nation or global organisa-tion has to take this initiative and act as advocate for the children, giving them a voice for the first time. would be a great step forward towards world peace if this happened.

John Wheeler, Taupo, New Zealand

#### Confusion over here has been a decline of 1.4 per vaccine pioneer

DAUL HOCKINGS (December 31) has falled to grasp the difference between vaccination and variolation. The latter, tried over many centuries, involved the use of material obtained from smallpox lesions, containing an unknown quantity of smallpox virus. It was a risky of our trading partners and for the procedure and many contracted smallpox. Jenner, who survived variolation as a child, made the observation that milkmalds - who contracted cowpox from the udders of the cows they milked - were spared the ravages of smallpox. He then proceeded to inoculate others with a cowpox extract, containing the related but less hazardous cow-

this induced immunity to smallpox. Cartoons in the national press suggested that vaccinated subjects might develop some of the physical attributes of cows but he persisted declining wages and living standards with this practice, which led to the global elimination of this dreadful infection and the development of

other "vaccines". The Jenner museum at Berkeley. in Gloucesterablee illustrates many aspects of his life and times, and it is indeed surprising that commemorative stamps are not being produced to mark the 200th anniversary of this discovery. (Prof) Gordon Roeves,

Sultan Qaboos University, Oman

#### Briefly

IT WAS an encouraging change to read Francis Deron's assessment (Le Monde, December 17) of the parliamentary elections recently held in Taiwan. The article showed noticeable diversion from the vestern media's tendency to porray the often stormy path of party politics in Taiwan as a mere object of derision. I share his dismay that a country in which a much larger per centage of the population partake in the democratic process than do in most other Asian states can conlinue to be officially ignored by the world community. For all the West's rhetoric about the virtues of democratigation in east Asia it would seem that investment opportunities n China still speak louder than democracy in Taiwan. Jeremy Taylor.

DICHARD NORTON-TAYLOR ("The ghosts of Nuremberg" December 31) is right to b pessimistic about the forthcoming international tribunal in the former Yugoslavia. But the world's media can do something: they can remind us frequently and for years to come of the crimes these evil men and women committed. Radovan Karadzie may not rot in jail but we might have the pleasure of seeing him hounded for the rest of his life. M Steiner.

Sydney, Australia

IWAS puzzled to learn that the European Community has decide to call its currency the Euro in order to avoid naming it after an Australian animal. The Emu is indeed an Aus tralian animal, but so is the Euro. which is also known as the commo wallarno (Macropus robustus). Paul Walten,

Katoomba, NSW, Australia

VILL one have to be confirmed for Euro coins and notes, or will Eurosis set in only after the introduction of the new currency? Peter Lodge,

THE FRENCH saying "mange de la vache enragée" is usual rendered as "to be hard up as hardly able to keep body and soul to-gether". I have hitherto thought the literal translation too bizarre to be credible, but could it just mean to b educed to eating meat unfit for uman consumption? Malvern, Worcestershire

TODAY I overheard two children calling each other "beefbrain". Richard Bramhall, Builth Wells, Powys, Wales

# The Guardian

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### **Arafat lambasted** for poll meddling

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

💶 HE Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, was sharply criticised on Monday by European Union observers of this month's general election for persistently neddling with the polling rules.

The PLO chief was lambasted though not named - in a statement, headed Enough is Enough, from the head of the EU election unlt, the former Swedish diplomat Carl Lidbom.

He obliquely questioned the indeendence of the election commission appointed by Mr Arafat and complained of confusion and uncertainty caused by a stream of decrees altering the election procedure.

He said: "The European Union electoral unit believes that the series of improvisations and irregularities should now cease if the forthcoming elections are to retain any credibil ity, both locally and internationally, and calls on the Palestinian National Authority and its chairman IMr Arafat] to take urgent steps to try to build public and international confidence in the election process."

The strong language reflects the growing exasperation of the EU and other observers, who were warmly welcomed at the outset of the election process but have lately been given the cold shoulder by the Palestinian Authority. The original election commission

resigned last month to clear the way for a new, supposedly neutral com mission to oversee the nomination of candidates, the campaign, and the polling, scheduled for January 20. Mr Arafat, who took 40 days to

promulgate the election law, finally signed it in early December. Since

BW- Jan. 7, 96

NE of the most enduring of Middle East alliances — be-

tween "radical" Syria and funda-

As Tehran announced at the weekend that its vice-president,

Hassan Habibi, was cancelling a

planned visit to Damascus, the Iranian press unleashed an un-

recedented assault on Syria.

Damascus — which has re-

newed peace talks with Israel— was pilloried for its "humiliating and beggarly" discussions with

the laraelia and its "ingratitude"

US-sponsored peace process, and chief backer of Islamist re-

sistance to it. Iran cannot but

see Syria's potential defection as

a blow to its regional influence.

Tehran has expressed its con-

cern at Syria's public support for

the Gulf states in their territorial

disputes with Iran; it has yet to

take a position on Syria's stated

interest in curbing the guerrilla

war that the Iranian-backed Hizbullah is waging against

The Tehran newspaper al-

Monday: "After figuring for years

lumhur al-Islami said on .

larael in south Lebanon.

As an implacable enemy of the

towards Iran.

ientalist Iran — is under strain.

David Hirst in Beirut

Syria's talks with Israel place

decree tinkering with procedure and in some cases making significant alterations.

Observers of his style are not surprised. For 30 years he has insisted on running the Palestinian cause as a one-man band. His inability to delegate has become the central feature of self-rule government, in which little is contemplated, let alone achieved, without his blessing.

The election machine, assembled over many months to give Palestinians their first experience of democracy, is now being run at least as much from Mr Arafat's headquarters in Gaza as from the electoral commission office in Ramallah.

He has arbitrarily increased the number of seats in the new council. from 82 to 87 at the last count. He has ordered the reopening of candidate nominations in all constituencies, not ust the ones allocated extra seats.

Registration of electors was continuing last week, almost a fortnight after it was supposed to be com-pleted. Most ominously, the official campaigning period has been cut from 22 to 14 days.

Mr Arafat has also, belatedly, appointed a PLO aide, Mahmud Abbas, to head the election commission. Mr Abbas, better known as Abu Mazen, was a principal architect of the first self-rule accord with Israel and is still said to be a close confidant of the PLO leader. He has yet to meet the EU observers to disuss their concerns.

Monday's statement acidly noted: "At such a meeting Mr Lidbom would have listened with interest to an explanation of why the central election commission was not set up earlier and why none of the allocations of sents was issued in the

in progressive and anti-Zionist ranks, Syria is now taking its

t submits to US and Zionist

South Lebanon in liable to

Iranian-Syrian friction. The Syrian foreign miniater said in

Beirut recently that Syria was

"for calming things down", be-cause the Israeli shelling of

Lebanese towns and the Hiz-

bullah's response, missiles on north Israel, sometimes went

beyond reasonable limits".

Last week Hizbullah leaders

were in Tehran discussing the

Israeli-Syrian peace. They do not

seem to have been reined in yet. On Friday last week Hizbullah

fired two Katyusha salvoes into northern Israel "in retaliation fo

the massacre of our civilians".

An Israeli minister warned

peace, "it must stop the Hizbullah".

Syria that if it was serious about

Middle East peace negotiators

from Syria and Israel met in rural

Maryland last week for the first face to face talks in six months.

Hopes for a land-for-peace breakthrough were high on both

possible consequences of an

emerge as a key arena of

place in the anti-Iranian camp a

Palestinians jeer as Israeli jeeps pulled out of the police station in

Chirac tests unions' will

ing the elections, which was given that specific task in the election law. "The first allocation of seats was

done instead by presidential decree and the number of seats has subsequently been changed twice, also by presidential decree. Mr Lidbom

Alex Duvai Smith in Paris

cuts to the welfare state.

RENCH trade unions face an up-hill task to renew nationwide

strikes this year after President

Jacques Chirac reaffirmed his sup-

port on Monday for government

in the traditional new year mes-

sage, Mr Chirac confounded critics who had predicted prime minister Alain Juppe's imminent fall under

the same axe as welfare benefits.

Speaking for the first time about the proposed cuts, which triggered

three weeks of public sector strikes

and demonstrations last month, Mr

Chirac praised Mr Juppe's "cours-

He said the measures, such as in-

creasing the years public sector

workers must serve to qualify for a

The constitutional council has ap-

proved Mr Juppé's measures for

eliminating the accumulated debt of

the social security budget. They in-

clude an immediate 0.5 per cent in-

Mr Chirac said the changes to

French society were "hard for many people" and appealed for revived

Marc Blondel, leader of the Force

confidence and greater dialogue.

come tax rise.

full pension, were pre-conditions to

secure France's financial health.

alliance with Iran under strain by renewing call for cuts

nission, the supreme body organis- | ance from Mr Abbas about the political independence of the central election commission."

The EU, which has largely funded the election process, will have 300 observers in position by polling day. Hundreds more international tors are expected from Japan, Nor-

communist-led CGT spearheaded

last month's mass demonstrations

and nationwide transport and postal strikes, welcomed Mr Chirac's will-

ingness to have a dialogue. The

problem is to know whether the

prime minister will apply the recom-

mendations," he said.

previous month's 14 per cent.

France again defied world opin-

#### **INTERNATIONAL NEWS** 3 Turkish parties unite to keep out Islamists GW : Jan. 7, 96 Jonathan Rugman in Istanbul HE leaders of Turkey's main stream secular parties began alks on forming a possible threeparty coalition government, in a platant attempt to keep the Islamic revivalist Welfare Party — which won the December 24 general elec-

tion — out of power. The Welfare Party (or Refah) advocates an Islamic common market, pulling Turkey out of Nato and renegotiating the customs union deal with the European Union which the

European Parliament ratified last The party's promise of a "just order" for the poor and alienated won more than 21 per cent of the vote, increasing its share of the 550 parlia-

mentary seats from 38 in 1991 to 158. Although Refah fell far short of winning the 276 seats needed to govern alone, the result has frayed he nerves of the secular establishment, sent the Turkish lira falling, and given radical Islamic elements heir biggest boost in the republic's

Tying for second place, with more than 19 per cent of the vote each. were the two bickering pro-western conservative groups — the Mother-land Party (Anap) of Mesut Yilmaz. and the True Path Party (DYP) of the outgoing prime minister, Tansu Ciller. Their leaders have agreed to work towards a coalition that would isolate Refah, but talks have become bogged down over the issue of who

should become prime minister. Ms Ciller and Mr Yilmaz cannot muster enough support between them to win a vote of confidence when parliament convenes later this month. They have therefore begun exploratory talks with two leftwing parties, headed by Ma Ciller's former coalition partner Deniz Baykal and the veteran Socialist Bulent Ecevit, who is vying for the premierahip with Ms Ciller.

Yet a three-party, left-right coalition is a tried and tested recipe for political chaos in Turkey, where unstable governments led to three years of military rule, ending in 1983. "The whole economy is on standby because of the instability," said Atalay Sahinoglu, chairman of the Istanbul chamber of commerce.

Refah's leader, Necmettin Er-bakan, aged 69, is resentful of attempts to deprive him of a leadership he believes he has won, and which

The official election results are not published until later this month. A new Speaker must then be elected - a contentious issue as the honorary position is usually filled by the biggest party. Any party appointed by the president to form a coalition must win a confidence vote, and i may be February before the horsetrading ends and a new administration is in place.

last week that contacts between Anap and Refah had begun, and he warned against any Algeria style at-tempt to exclude Islamists from the political process. "If you prevent us from coming to the front, then the expected to be followed by a final

planned number of explosions from eight to eix after international protests. Only Britain among European countries backed the Ouvrière union which, with the French plan,

The unions had warned of further unrest this year unless the government made new concessions. But even though Mr Chirac and Mr Juppe remain low in the opinion polls, he will soon be too old to re-contest. t is uncertain whether the unions can motivate workers to strike again. Just before Christmas, a survey found that 22 per cent of voters were "satisfied" with the president and the

ion and ignored objections by its A senior Refab official confirmed European partners last week by setting off the fifth nuclear bomb in its resumed testing programme at Moruroa atoll in the South Pacific. The blast was equivalent to "less. than" 30,000 tons of TNT and is

explosion on the atoll this month. President Chirac reduced the

people will push us to the front.1. But many Refah supporters be lieve that by going into opposition against a rickety coalition, the party stands a chance of performing ever

Comment, page 12

THE commander of the Nato-led Implementation Force (I-For), Admiral Leighton Smith, said that the Bosnian peace plan had so far succeeded expectations, after opposing armies met the plan's first deadline, writes Julian Borger.

Government and rebel Serb forces have pulled back from 40 positions ringing Sarajevo laid down in the peace treaty.

Unfortunately for I-For the arrival of the 20,000 American troops in the 60,000-strong has not gone as smoothly. Most were held up by the much-delayed construction of a large pontoon bridge over the River Sava, which separates Croatia and

And a US Apache helicopter fired the first shot in the peace-enforcement campaign when an electrical fault "accidentally discharged" a missile into a Bosnian Serb hillside. There were no casualties.

But Adm Smith was jubilant, pointing out that the Bosnian Serbs had accepted the presence of Nato troops on territory under their control much faster than he or his milltary planners had forescen.

The I-For commander admitted that he had so far enjoyed a honeymoon period, and that the peace plan would be put to far greater tests in the next few months, during which significant amounts of territory has to be exchanged, and the opposing armies demobilised.

• France vehemently denied making a deal to protect the Bosnian Serb military commander, General Ratko Mladic, from war crime charges after a newspaper reported that the two French pilots, released from Serb captivity last month, were tortured while under the general's

The French foreign ministry repeated no deal had been made. President Clinton has suspended US sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.



A Serb mother mourns her son buried in land returning to government control

# Serbs dig up their dead

trol - now appears to be pursuing

the politics of the dead. The first ex-

of television cameras.

along with their dead.

humations were carried out in front

Under the Dayton plan, Serb

forces are to withdraw from the

Sarajevo area within 45 days. Forty-

six days after that, government

forces will be allowed to move in.

When the transfer day comes, most

local Serbs say they will be gone,

Srpko Gogic, one of the gravedig-

gers at Vlakovo, five miles west of

Sarajevo, helped relatives dig up the

remains of four Serb soldiers. Even

for a man accustomed to living

among the dead, it was a harrowing

experience. "The soil here is very

dense. The air doesn't get to the

**EYEWITNESS** Julian Borger

IKE an episode from some mystical Balkan epic, the Serb dead are emerging from their graves and forsaking Sarajevo rather than suffer Muslim rule.

As the day nears when Serb suburbs of the Bosnian capital are to be anded over to the country's Muslim-Croat Federation under the Dayton peace accord, families have been arriving at Vlakovo cemetery to take away the bodies of relatives.

They come armed with spades and picks to dig up the decomposing cadavers, carrying the remains into exile in tin coffins strapped to railers and roof racks. It is a macabre and desperate ac

totivated by a deep-rooted attachment to ancestral land, a fear of desecration of burial plots, and a measure of political expediency.

The Serb leadership — having | war, only one Serb cemetery has tried demonstrations, threats, and a been vandalised on government referendum to forestall the transfer held territory. of Serb Sarajevo to government con-

The threat posed by the Muslim Croat federation has been played up by a Serb leadership. And there is a deeper link in Serb minds between land ownership and amestral burial

More often than not, Serbs phrase their claims to land in terms of the number of their kin buried

A joke circulating in Sarajevo tells of a Croat, a Muslim, and two Serbs arriving on the moon. The Croat points at the lunar mountains and says: "Those are like the Dalmatian hills. This must be Croatian land," The Muslim argues the cratered surface resembles the shell-scarred roads of Sarajevo, "so it must be Muslim". One of the Serbs pulls a gun, shoots the other dead, and says: "A Serb has died here, This is Serb land."

bodies, so they take years to decay." Throughout an otherwise brutal

EDERAL agents in the US have arrested two men on charges that they attempted to blow up an Internal Revenue Service office in Reno, Nevada,

Ntibantunganya of Burundi warned that his country is on the brink of collapse, blaming "fanatica" from the Hutu majora hybrid electoral system which is ity, Tutsi minority and the army for widespread bloodshed. More than 100,000 people are estimated to have been killed in Burundi since 1993.

A YOUNG man who jumped off the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge in a suicide attempt landed yards from a pay chiatrist in a rowing boat with a mer coalition partners, the North- party government of all the talents". lifejacket and a mobile phone.

The Week

RESIDENT Clinton and Republican congressional leaders resumed talks almed at reaching a balanced budget and ending a partial US government shutdown, though both sides were reported to be far apart on key issues that have caused 280,000 federal workers to be laid off for a record 18 days.

ACTION fighting among migrant workers home for Christmas and flash floods which swept away squatter camps claimed the lives of at least 300 people in South Africa

RESIDENT Boris Yeltsin left nospital and went on his first public walkabout since his heart attack last month. But the Russian leader refused to say whether he would seek re-elec tion in June.

Washington Post, page 18

LIGERIA has been excluded N from a Commonwealth meeting of parliamentary Speakers in Cyprus because of ts poor human rights record.

S EVERAL Nigerian newspa-pers have named Ken Saro-Wiwn as their "Man of the Year" because of the burrage of criticism the execution of the Ogoni writer and activist brought down on military rule.

👕 HE laraeli government has admitted that Israel was responsible for the murder of a Moroccan waiter who was misaken for a terrorist in Norway in 1973, and has promised to pay compensation to his relatives.

N EARLY 300 Israelis showed up uninvited to the wedding of the sister of Yigal Amir, Yitzhak Rabin's assussin, in a show of support for the killer's family.

AURICE PAPON, a French wartime civil servant in the Vichy government and a cabinet minister in the 1970s, has been indicted on charges of deporting hundred of Jews to their deaths

by planting a powerful home-made bomb outside the building

**GUARDIAN WEEKLY** 



Crunch time . . . The people of Hong Kong can no longer put off decisions about where their future lies as the changeover date of July 1, 1997 looms ever closer

PHOTOGRAPH: PATRICK ZACHMAIN

# Hong Kong: year of the puppet

As China's placemen move in for the 1997 handover, thousands of the colony's residents must decide whether to stay or go, writes

**Catherine Field** "HE OLD LADY meant well

when she scrubbed the inside of her Yixing teapot, Pleased with her work, she tried to sell the antique vessel. But she did not know the true value of the Yixing lies in the residue of tea lining the pot, which imparts a unique savour. The pot was now worthless.

When people in Hong Kong discuss the future, they increasingly turn to that Chinese parable, for the coming year is crunch time. The way China handles the approach to its takeover of the British territory on July 1, 1997, will show if the seductive flavour of Hong Kong, its cosmopolitanism and enterprise, will survive — or whether the Communists will extinguish it forever.

In the 150 years since the fishing village was ceded to Britain after the Opium Wars, Hong Kong has be-come an "Asian Tiger". It has flour-ished because the finest British iraditions — a free judiciary, sense of fair play and freedom of expression - have blended with the Chinese penchant for hard work and delight in trading.

"1996 is the worry," said Bob Broadfoot, an analyst with the Political and Economic Risk Consultancy. 'If you are pessimistic about 1997, then 1996 is going to be the time when you do something about it."

British administration sidelined and China preparing puppets and grooming sycophants for Hong Kong's political succession. They see a short, rapidly dwindling time left to enshrine Hong Kong's rights and traditions into a legal bulwark that will fend off Chinese interference. Many talk of a wave of emigra-

tion and an exodus of business.

"Hong Kong is a vibrant, fastpaced place with a good infrastructure," said Victor Sin, a people who have one eye on the job and the other on the Chinese. China has indicated that al

who studies economics and finance

much sense for me to leave . . . my

for at least 50 years after its return. But China last month destroyed

hopes that pro-democracy voices would be heard in the process to build the SAR government. It an nounced the composition of the 150-strong Preparatory Committee, which will hammer out the details of the transition from British territory to Chinese city - and revealed that it would be largely made up of mainland officials and pro-China figures in Hong Kong business and politics. Governor Chris Patten promises

his administration will co-operate non-person.

As the territory heads towards a

after 1997, in a clear threat to judicial independence, flundreds of local lawyers seeking a future es cape route have already picked up qualifications in Singapore. China's draconian state scerecy

Hong Kong's free press. Journalists are already concerned that self-censorship is curtailing freedom of expression. In its annual report, the London-based International Centre Against Censorship wrote that the Chinese government's "penetration and infiltration into the media ubiquitous and utterly persistent, and has shaken the very foundation of Hong Kong's cherished press

down last month to China's leading dissident Wei Jingsheng - confirmed by a court of appeal added to worries about ordinary citizens' futures after 1997. "If I manage to get into university here in Hong Kong, I definitely won't parlicipate in any student union politics, in order to protect myself," said Peter Mok, aged 17.

According to a survey by the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, almost 60 per cent of Hong Kong residents have little or no faith in the future leaders of the SAR government; only 6.1 per cent expressed "great" faith, and only 1.2 per cent

Emigration figures for 1995 are expected to be down on recent years - 61,600 left in 1994 compared with 53,400 in 1993 - but much as 20 per cent in applications and predict a migration surge. Some analysts auggest as many as 100,000 people plan to leave during

residents already hold foreign pass-ports, and any mass exolus could cause the local currency to collapse.

Hung Wah, aged 52, opened an

**INTERNATIONAL NEWS** 5

dianly lit store is typical of thousands | Judicial killings are on the of such shops in Hong Kong small, yet efficiently run by an owner who works as many hours as it needs to get the job done. Hung's store was open on Christmas Day and Boxing Day, and he was there on New Year's Day, eager to sell. The profits have not propelled

Hung into the ranks of Hong Kong's wealthy, but over the years he has made enough to put his two daughters through school and support his parents, who live in Macau. "This shop is my security," he

said. "It gives me enough money to live well. If I went abroad I'd have to close it down, and what could I do in Canada? I'd be unemployed."

And some traders positively look forward to the handover. "Things will be better because all these tensions and worries about 1997 will he gone. There will be more Chinese here — that means more customers," said Yip Mei-kong, who has worked at a fruit stall for 40 years. "I buy apples and pears in the Beijing area during the summer, and it will be much easier to do busi-

At the beginning of 1996, Hong Kong is a fantastic story of success The little territory competes with emerging giants such as Singapore, Taiwan and Malaysin. It is the world's eighth largest exporter and seventh biggest importer in merchandise trade, according to the Vorld Trade Organisation.

Most experts expect the econ omy to maintain a 5 to 6 per cent anmul growth rate over the next two to three years. When China takes over sovereigns, it will also inherit Hong Kong's foreign reserves of more than US\$51.8 billion - up from US\$49 billion at the end of 1994 — the second-largest reserves on a per capita basis in the world.

But many business people quietly predict that Hong Kong, under the dead hand of Communist rule, will become bland and corrupt and shorn of its international role - in short, it would become like any medium-sized city in China.

A SURVEY or ousnesses by the government's Industry Department revealed more SURVEY of businesses by than three-quarters of 2,081 companies thought prospects were weak or uncertain in 1996, and 87 per cent believed their post-1997 future was

Many are troubled by the institutional void and wonder how business disputes will be settled fairly and swiftly, and who will take ultimate control over the Hong Kong dollar.

The Bank of China now issues 20

per cent of the territory's banknotes, under a cautious approach by the administration to give the Chi nese experience of monetary policy in a capitalist economy. But there is no guarantee that the pragmatic approach of today will survive after 1997; China's own approach 'on monetary policy over the past two years has been to open up and then choke credit for individual entrepreneurs, while keeping the banknote presses rolling to fund decrepit state enterprises.

Above all, there is a pervasive anxiety about corruption, which i endemic in China, and seen as like to overwhelm Hong Kong, where

s relatively under control.
[Chinese] influence will increase more and more in terms of politics and economic activities. They will want a bigger slice of the cake and they want more say in our economic policies," said Victor Sin. "China will

lan Katz in New York

since 1957.

last year as public support for capital punishment hardened and debate over its morality has almost ceased.

With more than 3,000 inmates on death row and several legislative moves to cut short the appeals process pending, death penalty opponents predict a fresh surge in the rate of

"At one time a few years ago I could name everyone who had been executed in this country since 1976," said Stephen Bright, director of the Atlantabased Southern Centre for Human Rights, "Now I can't even keep up with the number.

Anti-death penalty campable. ers predict that the annual rate of executions will soon pass

Since the US Supreme Court lifted a ban in 1976, 38 states have returned the death penalty to their statute books with two more, Iowa and Wisconsin,

While protests over more to lethal injection, several.

Unless the condemned man in Utah will this month shoot

With the country gripped by a tough-on-crime mood and vio-lent crime rates falling sharply, public doubts about the death

out that the sharpest crime drops have been in states, such as New York, where the death penalty was not applied, are easily drowned out by support ers of capital punishment attributing falling murder rates to increasing numbers of

the legal centres which provide representation for death row inmates raised scarcely a protest. Anti-death penalty campaigners say closing centres will leave hundreds of condemned men and women without lowyers.

"The big débate before was whether, when the numbers got up this high, people would react policies," said Victor Sin. "China will with revulsion or indifference, have a presence here, but they will says Mr Bright. "Clearly 1995 management consultant, "Its people ers with Chinese officials. Services electrical supply store in the colony's have to prove the tisselves, earn would indicate the answer is are very hard-working. A lot work run by expatriates or pro-British western district 20 years ago. The their credibility." — The Observer indifference."

### Cult deaths repeat feared | Dini makes instant comeback

Paul Webster in Paris

HE French prosecutor investigating the deaths of 16 people in the Order of the Solar Temple's second suicide-cum-murder fears the ritual could be repeated.

Two cult members, including a policeman, executed 14 members of the cult before setting their own clothes alight and committing suicide with police service revolvers. The preliminary post-mortem

findings on the 13 French and Swiss adults and three children found dead in a forest clearing at Saintmas, their bodies laid out in the | Le Monde, page 14

form of a star, showed they had died a week earlier. They had all been

#### Porn crackdown on Internet

A N AMERICAN company barred worldwide access to 200 sex discussion forums last week after action by the German

The action was started by the Munich prosecutor against the Ohio-based CompuServe Inc on the basis of evidence that some of the forums were distributing child pornography.

burned. The adults were shot in the head and chest from close range, and the three girls had bullet wounds in the head. Two were laughters of one of the execution ers whose wife also died.

Fifty-three members of the order died in similar way in October 1994 in Switzerland and Canada. The order has predicted a millennium doomsday and believes ritual sacrifice will save followers from the wrath of God. It has about 400 French members.

subject to the national laws of

other countries.

CompuServe reacted with what some see as excessive zeal by closing access to all the altercourts, writes Martin Linton.

native sex forums to its 4 million users in 140 countries. The ban raises the issue of how far people exercising their freedom of speech on the Internet can be or should be

John Hooper in Rome T WAS the least convincing attempt to leave the stage since the days of Maria Callas; Lamberto Dini emained in the prime ministerial chair this week, his resignation re-

the policies of the EU in the next six

a way of thwarting a motion of no

turned down by President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, who asked him to go

back to parliament for a decision. Mr Dini filled the breach on the collapse of Silvio Berlusconi's rightwing administration in 1994, The television magnate wants a return to the hustings. But the left, Mr Berlusconi's for-

jected by Italy's president. But as Italy took over the presidency of the European Union on January 1, the complexion of the government in Rome which will chair the meetings and implement

months was still undecided. Mr Dini, the former central ment of experts" has been running the country for 11 months, tendered his resignation at the weekend. He was honouring an earlier promise as

But his offer was immediately

ern League, and President Scalfaro all fear that a fair election is inpossible while the billionaire continues to control half of Italian television.

The left, which can muster a scant majority in parliament with the help of the Northern League, has thus found itself keeping Mr Dini in power at the head of a cabinet which, like its prime minister, leans to the right.

Until last month its policy appeared to consist solely of putting off an election until Mr Berlusconi lost the leadership of the right.

His once-glittering image is now failed attempts to topple the government and, later this month, is due to stand trial for bribery. A further problem is that Italy has

thought unlikely to produce the sort of clear parliamentary majority needed for stable government. MPs have two options. One is to hold an election before the end of the EU presidency. In that case, Mr Dini would almost certainly be asked

to stay on until polling day at the head of a caretaker administration. The other, surprisingly proposed by Mr Berlusconi, is to form a crossround the clock. But people will locals risk being handed over only stay if the situation is tolerable. If freedoms are cut tailed to a drastic extent, people will move out."

So they wait, and wonder, and Fung Kai-keung carus HK810,000 (\$1,300) a month as a taxi driver; his salary goes to supporting his son

in the US. His wife's salary pays the food and council rent. "My son graduates in 1998," said Fung. "By then we will know what Hong Kong will be like. I've told him: 'If it's bad here, stay in New York.' I'm older, it doesn't make

son's future is what matters." Under the 1984 pact between Britain and China on the handover Hong Kong was promised a high degree of autonomy as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China, and will retain its capitalist system

with the committee to ensure a smooth transition, but there are increasing fears that it will become a shadow government, undermining the last 18 months of British rule, with China being consulted on every initiative. Indeed, the Gover-Many view the coming 12 months | nor's main role will be to preserve with trepidation. They foresee a his dignity: the shrill personal abuse dangerous political void, with the from Beijing of a couple of years ago (the choicer labels included "whore", "Fat Pang" and "tango dancer") has faded to silence; Mr Patten has become an irrelevance, a

political void, many important, now solid institutions are likely to become directionless. Morale is plummeting in the civil service, despite efforts to reassure the territory's 190,000 government workers through informal, small get-togethmanagement consultant. "Its people ers with Chinese officials. Services

udges will have to be reappointed

aws pose the greatest threat to

The 14-year jail sentence handed

said they had "very great" faith.

the coming year.

More than 700,000 Hong Kong

But millions either lack the wealth and connections to get a foreign passport, or run small, profitable businesses that give them a financial security they would not find abroad.

increase as the American public backs a tough stance on crime, writes

#### 3,000 await execution boom in US

PRISON authorities are preparing for an "execution boom" this year after 1995 saw the largest number of judicial killings in the United States

The US executed 56 killers

and that's all I do."

pledged to relatroduce it.

violent forms of execution have prompted most states to switch including Florida, Georgia, Indiana and South Carolina, still use the electric chair.

changes his mind, a firing squad dead John Taylor, a child-murderer who has embarrassed the state by exercising his right to be put to death by the traditional method.

penalty have all but evaporated. The voices of those who point

Most strikingly, the removal last year of federal funding for





The US this week

CR

esi

exp

Martin Walker

T IS becoming increasingly difficult to take seriously the Republican party's approach to the presidential election that will take place 11 months from now. Five of the main candidates failed to gather the 1,000 signatures required to get on the ballot for the primary in the state of Rhode Island.

Rhode Island is a small state, but it is part of the five-state grouping that will hold the Yankee primary on March 5. Not to be on the ballot smacks of an amateurism in political organisation that is bizarre. Only the front-runner, Senator Robert Dole, his colleague Senator Richard Lugar, and the former governor of Tennessee, Lamar Alexander, won a place on the ballot,

Senator Phil Gramm, the right-wing nationalist Pat Buchanan, Congressman Robert Dornan, and the black conservative and anti-abortion campaigner, Alan Keyes, all failed to make the ballot. And so, oddly, did Steve Forbes, whose success else-where in the Republican primary stakes is another reason to marvel at the botch the Republicans are President Clinton.

making of their attempt to unseat It is becoming ridiculous. If the opinion polls are right. Forbes is the only one serious challenger to Dole in the crucial early primary states of Iowa, New Hampshire, Arizona and Delaware. And he is a man who has never been elected to anything, has never run anything except the business magazine empire he inherited, and wants to return the US to the

gold standard. Forbes has simply ignored the party machines and local political bigwigs to appeal directly to the primary voters through paid TV ads. For the past eight weeks, the Forbes ads have been running 18 times a day on all the TV networks in all the early primary states. This is the kind of media blitz that normally doesn't happen even in the last week of a hard-fought campaign. Two months before the first primaries, it is

heard of. But it is working. Breakfast time in the first primary state of New Hampshire, the 6.59am slot just before the morning news. The owlish face peers through the thickest of spectacle lenses, and the prim little mouth purses into a smug and constant smile. "I say scrap the income tax. Scrap the Internal Revenue Service. Scrap the tax code. Put in a low flat tax. It's simple. It's honest. And that's a big change for Wash-

It goes on all day. Then just before the 6.30pm national news, there he is again. "He's been called a the daily life of slaves in the

champion of economic growth and a visionary. He is Steve Forbes." The owlish blink, the cheery dimples, the upbeat message: "America's best days are still to come."

Until now, Forbes was best known for his father, a bizarrely ambivalent figure, the son of an immigrant from Scotland who succeeded in the US with a sternly Calvinist approach to hard work and success. He built his Forbes magazine emplre by relentlessly boosting wealth and free markets, and glorying in the trappings of wealth, from his French chateau to his island in Fiji, from his 151ft yacht. The Highlander, to his private plane, The Capitalist Tool.

He tried politics, getting elected to the New Jersey state legislature and twice running for governor. But when that career stalled, he decided to throw off the Calvinist cloak and have fun. It became the mid-life crisis that never stopped. He became a bisexual biker who dressed in black leather and roared up to gay bars on his Harley-Davidson, took up hot-air ballooning and hang-gliding. Until his death in 1990, the elder Forbes was the most lavish party-giver of his time, pending \$2 million on his 70th irthday thrash in Morocco, where his escort was Elizabeth Taylor.

"It would be silly to try to imitate my father," says Forbes the younger. "Learn his approach to life, yes. But take up hang-gliding in some compe-

A chess-player whose college each of the guests.

"At an early age, we were expected to know, so to speak, where our bread was buttered," he recalls He followed dutifully in the family footsteps, going to his father's old college of Princeton, and starting a undergraduate. Called Business Today, a monthly aimed at career- ing to exchange disposable income

"HE Washington establish-

ment was plunged into yet

another bruising row over politi-

cal correctness last month, as an

exhibition on slave life in the old

south was cancelled after black

groups said it was racist, writes

Jonathan Freedland in

Washington. The Library of Congress an

nounced that it had scrapped

"Back to the Big House: The

Plantation" after black workers

at the library said they were of-

fended. The collection of photo-

graphs and accounts depicting

Cultural Landscape of the

sports credentials at Princeton were won by scoring the games and organising the away matches rather than by playing, young Steve was brought up in the Calvinist mould. Every Saturday his fother would take 70 corporate and political bosses from Manhattan up the Hudson river on board the family yacht. At the end of the cruise lay West Point, the US military academy, where Forbes rented a box to watch the weekly football games. Young Steve had to spend every Friday evening and Saturday morning with a pile of photographs, learning by heart the names and faces of

for political fame. But Perot had the minded college students, it now has

a circulation of 200,000.

The heart of the company remains Forbes magazine, which now boasts a higher circulation and more pages of advertising than the veteran Fortune business magazine. That is one achievement of which Steve Forbes can justifiably boast to the voters. The other is that he is the only financial journalist to have won four Crystal Owl awards, given by the USX corporation for the most accurate economic forecasts.

That success in the stewardship of the publishing empire gave him the confidence to branch out into public life. Two years ago, he agreed to take over the chairmanship of Empower America, the political vehicle for former Congressman Jack Kemp and the free-market zealots among the Republicans. When Kemp decided that his social views on race and immigration were too progressive for the Christian Coalition, and decided not to run for the presidency in 1996, Forbes decided that the cause still deserved a champion. Pressed by the supply-side economists who had backed Ronald Reagan, such as Jude Wanniski and

iacy last September. The quixotic campaign was innational magazine while still an stantly and widely derided as "Perot Lite", another mega-rich ego look-

American south had won wide

acclaim travelling around the US,

efore its arrival in Washington.

umbrage at the show and within

was withdrawn, library officials

But African-American staff

members and officials took

two hours of its installation it

The cancellation was the

second by the library within a

month. Two weeks earlier the

Sigmund Freud, after anti-Freud academics claimed Freudianiam

"There is an atmosphere of

fear at the library now," one offi- tation master's mansion.

library scrapped a show on

was a discredited theory.

'Correctness' row halts slave display

confirmed.

Arthur Laffer, he declared his candi-

ILLUSTRATION, NICOLA JENNINGS

advantage of novelty. There was no parallel flood of free media interest

n the Forbes announcement. So be

Thanks to well-intentioned re-

forms of the campaign finance

rules, American politics has become

the playground of the rich. If you set

out to raise money from the public,

from business and from lobby

groups in the traditional way, the

mum \$1,000 a head from individu-

action committees. But spend your

own money, and the sky is the limit.

Because Dole and Gramm and

eral funds, Forbes can spend as

who take polls, run telephone banks

and canvass door-to-door, Forbes

just buys TV time. No political ann-

cial told the Washington Post.

managers feared the religious

right would condemn sexually

pressurise the Republican-led

Congress to cut the library's funding. "This time it's fear of

maybe a dozen black staff. This

About 20 black employees

complained about the plantation

also disliked the term Big House,

slave parlance for the white plan-

is all really scary," he said.

was withdrawn because

explicit material in it and

He added that the Freud exhibit

much as he likes.

cent of the presidential poll.

set out to buy some.

\$36,000 of household income would attract no tax at all. Thereafter, all ncome would be liable to a flat to of 17 per cent, with no exception for mortgage payments, no capital gains taxes, no other federal taxes

There is a Wall Street wing to the Republican party which is bored by the debates over abortions and fam ily values that preoccupy the rel gious right, and which frets at the message of hair-shirt austerity of the Republicans in Congress who want to cut government spending to balance the budget. Made up of the big corporate tycoons and heirs like Pete Du Pont tof the chemica giant), Leonard Lauder (the cosme ics fortune), and Ace Greenberg (Bear Stearns brokers), this Wa Street group loves the unabashed capitalism of Forbes the magazine and is beginning to punt a few millions on Forbes the man.

rules limit a candidate to a maxials, and \$5,000 a head from political Ross Perot spent \$60 million of his own money in 1992, roughly \$3 for each vote he received, to get 19 per other candidates have applied for federal funds to match personal conbetter-known rivals.

Forbes has no time for Gramm's

"The genius of America is that we have entrepreneurs to design and build engines to pull wagons, so people don't have to," says Forbes, who is firmly convinced that his fre market optimism is the only way the Republicans can stop Clinton.

"I really believe this, that in postcold war America, a new era can be born, with personal computers spreading power to the people and away from the big government bureaucrats. We can free people from the state, with their own pensions saving accounts, their own health-care insurance, their own choice of school through vouchers. We can give individuals more power. display, taking particular offence more control, more opportunity and at pictures of slave quarters. They more choice. That is the essence of the American experiment and we have to get back to it."

lyst can wholly explain the sudden Forbes phenomenon. Partly it is America's perennial love affair with the super-rich, whenever they deign to come down to press the flesh of ordinary mortals. Partly it is the power of his TV advertising blitzkrieg. Partly it is the novely of his ideas, but mainly it is political desperation among Republicans who are sure Bill Clinton is beatable. but cannot yet discern any conventional politician who looks able to win the election in November.

GLIARDIAN WEEKLY

Dissatisfaction with the rest of the Republican field, led by 72-year old Senator Dole, is the dominan political mood as the election ven opens. All the opinion polls cur rently show Clinton beating Dole b it least a 10-point margin.

Tax reform lies at the heart of the Forbes campaign. He wants to scrap income tax altogether and replace it with a flat tax. The first

UST before Christmas, they organised a "Friends of Forbes" fund-raising dinner, at which 1,500 Wall Street types paid \$1,000 a plate to the only candidate who believes in bringing back the gold standard. Forbes is their man, unfailingly sunny and upbeat in his promise of growth through tax cuts, and rich enough to moun devastating negative ads against his

tributions and finance their cam-"The Senate was to vote on term paigns, they have to abide by the federal election rules which limit limits in October. But it didn't Would you believe Senate Majority them to spending \$1.1 million each in lowa and \$600,000 each in New leader Bob Dole cancelled the vote So there will be no vote in the Senat on term limits this year," says th Hampshire. By not applying for fedowlish grin. "I'm Steve Forbes. Sens tor Dole is wrong. Term limits we restore honesty to Washington, and And while the others follow convention and spend money on large that's the kind of change we need." campaign offices with full-time staff

politics of resentment against the velfare class, and his demand "that those in the wagon get out for once and help the rest of us push".

### **US military on trial in Okinawa**

A tiny island south-west of Japan has been Little America for 50 years. But the rape of a 12-year-old schoolgirl has enraged locals and boosted their desire to get the US troops out. Andrew Higgins reports

Wing needs its own 18-hole golf course bang in the middle of Okinawa and why the US Air Force should never surrender an inch of its 11,500 acres of prime Japanese

QUARDIAN WEEKLY

We've got men here who are used to the American way of life," he says. "Back home in the States this is perfectly normal. It is not an extravagance. It is provided for the morale of our troops. All work and no play helps nobody. We'd rather have our men hitting golf balls than hitting . . ." He stops himself abruptly in mid-sentence.

He has struggled valiantly for more than an hour to avoid the real issue in Okinawa and prove that 28.000 US troops pose no theat to

Sure, a few Japanese want back some of the land they lost in 1945 the scoffs at "tatami mat" landlords). Yes, they might resent their property being used by a foreign military to play golf, fly tand some-times crash) F-15 warplanes and store 54,000 tonnes of munitions, including, though nobody will say so officially, nuclear warheads. And, of course, the neighbours don't like it when fighter squadrons take off in the middle of the night t"We try to avoid it but you don't go to war in the dark if you don't practise in the

Surely, though, a few grumpy leighbours is small price to pay for half a century of peace and stability? "We are not here for ourselves but for the good of Japan and the rest of

The sentence left unfinished by Major Memi at the Kadena Air Base is completed in grisly detail a few miles down Highway 58 in Hearing Room 201 of the Naha District Court. Here, in a hall so acrubbed and polished it glows antiseptic white, there is no dodging what sol-diers are capable of doing in their free time — when not hitting golf balls, watching NFL football matches and Playboy channel movies on cable TV or guzzling duty-free bottles of beer at on-base bars.

The court starts its business for the day at 10 o'clock sharp. First to appear before a panel of three blackobed judges is US Marine 1st Class Joshua Hill. He makes a swaggering entry wearing handcuffs and a Tshirt that says "Boss". He is ac-cused of bludgeoning a 24-year-old apanese woman to death with a nammer. He admits to hammering



AJOR Edmund Memi of Brooklyn, New York, is explaining why the 18th to kill her.

to lock him up for, the judges (there is no jury) want to know how many times he hit his victim, a shop assistant called Kanako Kinjo. The prosecution estimates the number of hammer blows to the head at 70; the defence suggests "only" 20; Hill, a Korean-Afro-American from Ohio, grunts and rolls his eyes.

He is no more helpful on the question of motive. He mutters something about bad driving but declines to elaborate. His lawyer, Mistunobu Matsunga, asks for psychological tests "because what he did was not understandable". The judges, no less baffled, set another hearing in a fortnight's time.

After a break for lunch, the Japanese justice system has its second encounter of the day with the US Armed Forces in Hearing Room 201. The afternoon session centres on the abduction and gang rape of a 12-year-old Japanese schoolgirl. Sitting handcuffed at the front of the court are two more Marines, this time from Georgia, and a Texan in the Navy. Also in court are two of their mothers and a wife.

The three men allegedly seized the girl as she walked home from buying school notebooks in a village shop. After forcing her into a white rental car, they bound her wrists with tape and drove to a sugar came field in the north of Okinawa. There she was raped and then dumped semi-conscious and badly battered.

Again, there are confessions and again the task faced by the judges is less one of choosing between guilt and innocence than calibrating degrees of a horror that defy understanding. (All three admit to planning and then carrying out the abduction but disagree on who did exactly what in the car.) Even defence witnesses splutter

with appalled incomprehension. "As the father of two children I find i difficult to believe that anyone could be capable of doing something like this, especially to a child," says John Deardorff, a mili tary officer called to act as a character witness for 22-year-old Navai recruit Marcus Gill. All he can offer by way of mitigating circumstances is a dim recollection that Gill had put on weight at the time of the rape and worried about flunking his physical: "He was upset about his weight control problem."

The response of Okinawa, scene of a bloody second world war battle in which more than 200,000 died, has been one of predictable outrage. political élite, voice revulsion while praying that the horrors of Hearing Room 201 will soon be forgotten. The case of Joshua Hill - now known to his Marine Corps buddles as "MC Hammer", an allusion to the American rap musician — may well fade from memory. The press has shown little interest in his victim. One of the few newspapers to report the case regularly is the US military's own in-house publication, Stars and Stripes.

The indifference has a reason: the murdered woman mixed with marines. Even zealous critics of tickets. (Hill draws only a handful of military violence suggest this some- | spectators.)



A women's group outside Japan's foreign ministry in Tokyo protests against the US military presence PHOTOGRAPH KATSUMI KASAHAHA

how explains her fate. "Using a The overkill might not match the hammer should be recognised as a andemonium that surrounded the violent act but this killing was : O J Simpson trial in Los Angeles but personal matter between two peothere are still plenty of kibitzers ple," says Iha Yoichi, a trade union eager to pronounce on proceedings. leader and activist in a campaign to As in LA, the hot issue is race - at least for the Americans. All the deget US soldiers out of Okinawa. But passions aroused by the rane fendants are black.

On hand to monitor the trial for

any hint of racial bias is a represen

tative of the National Association for

the Advancement of Coloured Peo-

ple, two American lawyers who

spend their time sniping at the

Japanese defence team, and various

emissaries from Georgia, home

state of two of the accused. "There

is so much publicity surrounding

this trial you have to ask yourself

whether the case is really being

tried in there or in the court of pub

lic opinion," says Rose Johnson, a

member an Atlanta-based group

called the Centre for Democratic

Michael Griffiths, a lawyer repre-

senting the Georgians — Marine Privates 1st Class Rodrigo Harp and

Kendrik Ledet - wants the trial moved elsewhere. He accuses Okl-

nawa's governor, Masahide Ota, of

"poisoning the integrity of the judi-cial process" with an advertisement

in the New York Times in which he

cited the rape as an argument for

For Okinawans, whose distaste

for the American military goes hand

in hand with a deep mistrust of

Tokyo, it all smacks of yet more un-

tree outside the courthouse has

been hung with a stencilled sign in

broken but unambiguous English:

"To beggar soldiers! We've paid you

for everything even a bite of bread

If you have a piece of pride GET

The biggest and most violently

wayward US contingent in Okinawa is the Marine Corps, its Third Expe-

ditionary Force, which calls itself

Each new marine gets a booklet

under the age of 21.

the closure of US bases.

of a pre-teen schoolgirl untainted by any past association with her attackers show no sign of abating, despite a claim by the Pentagon that a recent visit to Japan by US Defence Secretary William Perry had "put the Okinawa problem

The furore has claimed the career of Admiral Richard Macke. overall commander of US forces in he Pacific. He took early "retire-

The Pentagon, and much of Tokyo's political élite, voice revuision while praying that the horrors of Hearing Room 201 will soon be forgotten

ment" after an off-colour remark that the accused rapists could have they spent hiring a car to abduct the

Three months after the crime entered vocabulary as the reipn jiken - rape incident - the parking lot of the District Court in Naha, Oklnawa'a capital, is clogged on trial days with television crews and satellite transmission vans.

A hellcopter clatters overhead taking aerial shots for a Japanese network. So many journalists and the "Tip of the Spear", has 18,000 men, more than 60 per cent of them ordinary Okinawans want a seat in the Room 201 that court officials hold a pre-trial lottery of courtroom to explain his mission: "Marines

wardmost defence against any potential hostile aggression towards the United States in the Pacific theatre . . . When they're not training hard, they're playing hard. Immeasurable time and effort have been selflessly provided over the years by hardcharging volunteers to make the lives of their neighbours And those who charge too hard?

"If your actions result in serious injury or death to a Japanese . . . you should offer compensation of up to

The text, like much else about the US military presence in Okinawa, is badly outdated, a relic of the simple certainties of preppy 1950s soda fountain sports rhetoric and Cold War Pax Americana in the

"You don't have to be Thucydides or Henry Kissinger to realise that this situation is highly unstable and could blow up in our faces," says Chalmers Johnson, head of the Japan Policy Research Institute in California. "Japan must become a normal country and we must end our protectorate. We are defending a country while going into debt to it to the tune of \$60 billion a year." When Washington last fully revised its security treaty with Tokyo in 1960, the US was 11 times richer than Japan, Today, it is only 1.3 times wealthier.

The Pentagon dismisses such logic as isolationist claptrap. It also unnerves many Japanese and other Asians, Singapore's elder states man, Lee Kuan Yew, says encouraging Japan to build up its own military is "like giving a chocolate liqueur to an alcoholic"

After reluctantly promising to slash US troops levels in Japan and Korea in 1990 and then again in 1992, the US defence department has reversed itself with an unequivocal commitment to maintain "a stable forward presence" in Asia of 100,000 men. It argues that it is cheaper to keep American troops in Japan, where Tokyo is supposed to pick up 70 per cent of the tab, than back home in the United States. (South Korea pays nearly 90 per cent of the cost of keeping 37,000

American soldiers.) The arrangement used to suit all sides - except for the Okinawans whose tiny island plays host to two thirds of all US ground troops stationed in Japan. The rape, however, has served as a catalyst for a more general, albeit unfocused, sense

that something must change.
But what? Few Japanese want to drive out US troops, altogether; fewer still are ready to share Okinawa's burden and welcome teenage marines into their own neighbourhood. "The cold war in Europe ended when people tore down the Berlin Wall. It has ended in Asia with the rape of a 12-year-old schoolgiri," claims Rose Johnson. "American troops in Japan look a lot like the Russian troops who lingered in East Germany for years after the Wall came down. terests are fighting, but it is all

For Okinawans, though, it is far from over. At the Hamagawa Junior School, teachers still get drowned out in the middle of lessons by the din of F-15s coming in to land at the nearby Kadena Air Base. The school principal, Higa Hideo, still has to interrupt assembly meetings to wait for the noise to die down However, he does thank the US military for one thing: "Because of all their noise pollution, students greet me very boisterously in the morning. Here we all know how to stationed here are part of the for- | shout,"

The Week in Britain James Lewis

Under cover of the paramilitary warfare, there has always been a subculture of social terrorism, drug trafficking, protection rackets and other forms of criminality in Northern Ireland. The continuing violence may well be a settling of old scores, or even an attempt by the IRA to consolidate its grip on republican strongholds at a time when the writ of the (overwhelmingly Protestant) police is slowly gaining

The uneasy situation did not deter the Prime Minister, John Major, from making a pre-Christmus visit to Ireland and meeting his Dublin counterpart, John Bruton, who said that in response to the killings, and to the discovery of an IRA plot to carry out a series of armed robberies, he had dropped plans for the early release of republican prisoners. Sinn Feln has refused to condemn the violence saying only that it "does not con-done" it — which led Mr Major to denounce the "fiction" that Sinn Fein and the IRA were separate

Echoes from the past will continue to haunt the various parties in the conflict as they inch their way painfully towards a permanent set-

One such was the payment by the British government of nearly £40,000 to relatives of three IRA members who were shot dead by security forces in Gibraltar in 1988. The money was to cover their legal costs in taking a case to the European Court of Human Rights. The court had ruled that the killings were a breach of the European Convention on Human Rights, but rejected claims for compensation.

Hugo Young, page 12

CONSERVATIVE Eurosceptics and others delivered a humilisting end-of-term rebuff to the Government by narrowly defeating it in a Commons vote on fisheries policy. The vote itself — an insignificant motion to "take note" of the Government's approach to the EU's Commons Fisheries Policy (CFP) — meant nothing in itself. But it did emphasise the vulnerability of the majority.

Fishermen, concentrated in just a few constituencies, have been seriously hit by the EU's policy of conserving stocks by severely reducing catch quotas, and have been an gered by the incursion of Spanish trawlers into fishery areas once held to be exclusively British. In an overnight haggle in Brussels, the day after the vote, Britain did manage to achieve higher catch quotas than scientists had recommended, but fishermen's organisations were

not placated... Under new arrangements which took effect this week, Spanish ves-

and the English and Welsh coasts. where the CFP allows them to fish for the first time. They were being watched by one fisheries protection vessel and surveillance aircraft to see that they do not exceed their catch quotas or otherwise bend the rules.

THE PRIVATISATION of rail passenger services got under way in earnest when the first franchise, covering routes between London and the South-west, was sold to the country's biggest bus company, Stagecoach Holdings. The company promised to run 86 per cent of exist ing services, improve some stations, and provide dedicated bus links.

But the transport select committee of the Commons recently uncovered the fact that Stagecoach has been referred to the Office of Fair Trading on no fewer than 24 occasions, and reprimanded by the Monopolies and Mergers Commission for "predatory and deplorable

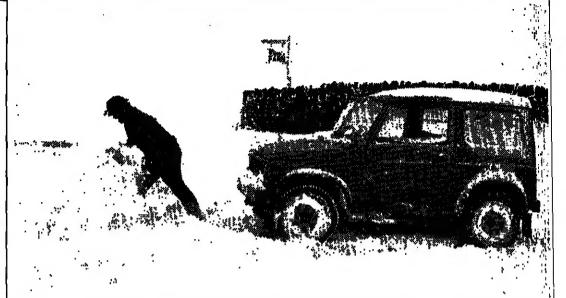
There was also anxiety about the credentials of bidders for other rail business. Omnitrax, the US company bidding for British Rail's three freight businesses, is in partnership with a US construction group, Peter Kiewit, which is involved in a criminal investigation into the multibillion dollar Los Angeles subway project. And Wisconsin Central which last month took over the royal train and mail-carrying services, is in partnership with a New Zealand merchant bank, Fay Richwhite, which is being investigated

THE NEW YEAR Honours List, lacklustre affair, was criticised for its inclusion of Tory financial backers. John Prescott, Labour's deputy leader, singled out the knighthood conferred on Graham Kirkham, a Thatcherite businessman, who is believed to have given the Conservative party a £4 million bridging loan. Downing Street said the award was for "charitable services" and that his political service

over alleged tax fraud.

was not a factor. Another knighthood, "for services to the electrical retailing industry", went to Stanley Kalma, chairman of the Dixons store chain, who makes a personal donation to the Tories on top of his company's annual £25,000.





### Freezing weather takes its toll

Quardian Reportera

REEZING FOG and sub-zero teniperatures throughout last week disrupted many parts of England and Wales and almost all of

In Shetland, hundreds of isanders spent days without power as emergency services fought to restore electricity out off by the ferocious weather on Christmas Eve. Throughout the country elderly

people waited to hear whether they could qualify for cold weather payments as temperatures fell to minus 20C in parts of Scotland. Labour MP George Foulkes

called for a "double premium" to be paid when temperatures fell below minus 10C for 24 hours.

Mertin Linton

The Government said that the £8.50 per week payment, to help hose on income support cope with I when the hospital team finally ud-

ONSERVATIVE MP David Ashby faces a legal bill esti-

mated at £400,000 after losing his

libel case last month over allega-

tions in the Sunday Times that he is

a homosexual. However, it seems

further trouble by being declared bankrupt and disqualified from the

nlikely he will cause John Major

No MP has been disqualified for

bankruptcy since 1928. Lawyers

helieve that Mr Ashby, a barrister,

will be able to agree repayment

schedules and avoid eroding any

further the Government's precari-

seat for Prime Minister's questions

three hours after his trial ended like

the final act of a Greek tragedy, with

husband and wife left crying on

opposite sides of an empty court-

The jury took five hours to reach

majority verdict in favour of the

bunday Times, who claimed that Mr

Ashby was a homosexual and was

naving an affair with an Irish doctor,

The newspaper's star witness was

Mrs Ashby, who claimed her hus-

band had confessed to her that he

was a homosexual when they ended

their 28-year-old marriage. She I nanimity in victory."

Ciaran Kilduff.

heating bills during cold snaps, would be made across the country.

The Department of Social Security said that the payments had so far been triggered in virtually the whole of Scotland, Tyneside, Teesside, Carlisle, Munchester, Birmingham, North Yorkshire, West Yorkshire, West Midlands and Wiltshire.

Under existing legislation only three groups are eligible for cold weather payments; families with children under five, the disabled and long-term sick, and pensioners The severe weather led to several

deaths, in West Yorkshire a team of 20 doctors and nurses lost a fivehour battle to save the lives of a young girl and two men who were submerged in a freezing lake after two rescue attempts went tragically

The three were declared dead

sounded less certain after the court

my husband lose an expensive libel

action. I hope that it will not have a

She ended by quoting the proverb 'least said, soonest

mended" but agreed to give

interviews on conditions laid down

Brett that she should get prior sight

of what was intended to be pub-

Her husband, the MP for Leices-

the taxation proceedings are com-

plete, which can take six to nine

months, but lawyers put the cost of

a four-week libel trial at £150,000 to

The Sunday Times used its own

legal department, which may re-

duce the costs, and Mr Brett said he

was sure editor John Witherow

would be sensible about recovering

costs. "We will have to show mag-

£200.000 for each side.

terrible effect on him."

his solicitor.

them had failed. They were Trag Patterson, aged 11, of Hemsworth. West Yorkshire, who had faller through an inch of ice into freezing water after chasing a dog, Jad Crawshaw, aged 51, of Wakefield and off-duty fireman Michael Med aged 48. They were pulled from the water two hours after they tell in and taken to Pontefract general in firmacy, West Yorkshire

The head of accident and enegency at the hospital, consilar Mike Playforth, had initially been optimistic, saying extraordinary to coveries had taken place in drown ing victims whose life systems were slowed but not extinguished by freezing temperatures. Chief Inspector Michael Devinot

West Yorkshire police said that both men had been recommended for

#### Tory MP faces £400,000 | Prisons 'must legal bill after libel defeat slash costs'

Alan Travis

THE new head of the Prison Ser Asked if she was convinced her husband was a homosexual, she vice has told governors they must cut costs by 15 per cent over said: "I don't know, it was up to the jury." In a prepared statement she said: "It gives me no pleasure to see the next three years to close the gap with private prisons.

The disclosure came the day after Ru inspection team last month walked out of Holloway women's prison in north London because they were so appalled by the cood tions. Their complaints included over-zealous security and prisoners by Sunday Times lawyer Alastair being locked up for 23 hours a day.

The Prison Officers' Association warned the conditions would be repeated throughout the country unless budget cuts were halted.

Richard Tilt, the acting director Mr Ashby was given a warm wel- tershire North-West, looked refuge in the Inner Temple, barring acknowledged there were likely be other prisons which have such the way to journalists, and later isbad conditions that they will have to sued a two-line statement through be baled out. His costs will not be known until

Janet King, the governor of Hol loway jail, has been given the option of moving to another post within the Prison Service and will not face disciplinary action over the state of her prison. Home Office ministers have taken a "supportive attitude" to wards the senior managem Britain's largest women's prison in the wake of the dramatic walkout by a team of government inspectors,

Holloway's grim story, page 2

**GUARDIAN WEEKLY** 

In Brief

HE Government and medica establishment face pressure for clearer guidelines on patient consultation after a gynaecologis was cleared of illegally procuring an abortion on a woman who did not know she was pregnant.

BEF sales dropped by 15 per cent in the four weeks to mid-December as 1.4 million households stopped buying beef as a result of fears that BSE might be transmitted to humans

A GOVERNMENT inquiry cleared Monklands district council in Scotland of nepotism and political and religious bias i have dogged the Labour-controlled council for three years.

OHAMMED Al-Fayed, the owner of Harrods, plans to set up his own newspaper after being thwarted in attempts to break into media ownership.

THE Millennium Commission threw out proposals for the £88 million Cardiff Bay Opera House as "too risky", provoking accusations of metropolitan snobbery and anti-Welsh bias.

A CCORDING to 1965 cabinet records, released this week, Harold Wilson was given a contemptuous brush-off by the US president, Lyndon Johnson, when he asked to have face to face consultations over Vietnat

CHURCH leaders launched a swingeing attack on the National Lottery, describing this week's £33 million roll-over ackpot sa "obacene".

THE Prime Minister signalled his intention to reform arcane property laws that enable "unscrupulous" landlords to exploit tenants by demanding mjustified service charges and unfairly wriggling out of having to sell their freeholds.

A TEENAGER who took part in the mugging and stabbing of the husband of the Director of 'ublic Prosecutions was senenced to six years' youth custody

SHAHID IQBAL, aged 22, a supermarket worker from Birmingham, faced charges of 10 attempted murders after hoppers and staff were stabbed in a random knife attack

THREE workmen were killed and four others critically inured when an explosion tore through an engineering yard on Tyneside during pressure-testng of an offshore rig.

OLICE are hunting an armed gang who shot dead one man and injured two others who ervened to prevent what appears to have been an attempted street robbery in the St Paul's area of Bristol.

Why I had to leave the Tories | Menzies Campbell and David Steel. And in Britain it is precisely the Liberal Democrats' mix of competi-

Democrats. Far from being over-

vhelmed by natural regrets, I now

look forward with a sense of posi-

tive hope for the future, and a feel-

say exactly what I think.

Emma Nicholson, the defecting MP, explains why she felt betrayed and lost within her own party

T HAS NOT been easy for me to leave the Conservative party. My father and uncles were Conservative the country in joining the Liberal tive MPs, and I have many friends Yet I am quite clear that I have

and colleagues that I shall miss.

magnitude involves both "push" and "pull" factors. The contemporary Conservative party is increasingly who identified so strongly with the old "One Nation" tradition. There is an increasing venom in the internal faction-fighting within the party, and n endless search for scapegoats: single mothers, asylum seekers, oung people, ethnic minorities and nany others are used as political argets by ministers seeking to de-

Emma Nicholson campaigning in the 1992 general elections

Major's seem now in the light of the sorry saga of shilly-shallying on Europe that we have seen from the Government. I find that most of our continental European neighbours are in despair at the inability of the British government to rise above cheap flag-waving populism and get on with the real job of building the sort of Europe we want, including, In the not too distant future, complete ing of political ease at being able to economic and monetary union.

In a real sense, I feel that rather Any personal decision of this than my leaving the Conservative party of Winston Churchill, Harold Macmillan and Edward Heath, the modern harsh and uncaring Conservative party has left me.

Now as to the factors that have pulled me towards the Liberal Democrats: I am sure I am not alone in having Liberal as well as Conservative forebears — and I am clear that the Liberal Democrats have inherited that great liberal tradition of "conscience and reform". I have already mentioned Europe in which the Liberal Democrats have an impressive and absolutely consistent record of constructive engagement. But on other issues such as foreign affairs and international human rights, from Bosnia and the Middle East to Hong Kong, I have already found myself agreeing with Paddy

**UK NEWS** 9

tive free enterprise, long-term public investment, particularly in education, and social compassion that is a perfect fit for me.

I am convinced we need fundamental constitutional reform at all evels. We must cleanse the Augean stables at Westminster of the mess of patronage and special interests which do so much to discredit democracy. I was distressed at the Government's attitude to the Nolan report. Lobbying income must be declared. Quangos must be cleaned up. Parliament must work more openly and efficiently.

But the main thrust of reform must be to move power away from the centre and out to the localities of Britain, away from the state and towards the citizen and away from London to the nations and regions of Britain. I am convinced that the regeneration of our democracy depends upon empowering individuthan attempting to put all power in the hands of the gentlemen of Whitehall and Westminster.

So I look to the future with the confidence of someone who believes that she can make a contribution of hope for the next century rather than being locked into the politics of the past. — The Observer

#### Privatised regulators may face scrutiny from Nolan

Petrick Wintour

ORD Nolan's committee on stan-\_dards in public life may now look at the powerful new breed of industry regulators, including the lottery dustry's Peter Davis, Lord Nolan indicated last week.

The committee, which has already prompted sweeping reforms of rules for MPs, is investigating accounta-bility in local public spending bodies such as grant-maintained schools and housing associations. It is the to complete that report by Easter.

The growing calls for an inquiry into the independent regulators reached a new pitch after Mr Davis accepted free flights from a major backer of lottery operator Camelot, against advice from the National Heritage Department. Virginia Bottomley, the Heritage Secretary, resisted calls for his dismissal.

Asked on BBC radio whether his committee would investigate the regulators, Lord Nolan replied: "We very well may. I can certainly say this, that the regulators... are hold-ers of public office and, therefore, quite within our terms of reference.

"The suggestion has been made over the current case that it would be sensible to see in more detail what regulates the regulators, and to whom they are accountable.

Lord Nolan also expressed surprise at the public's cynlcism over standards in public life. His postbag was mainly filled with letters about financial greed, but also about sexual misbehaviour. Asked what peoole said; he replied; "That the country was going to the dogs."

Lord Nolan's office stressed that

no final decision had yet been made. It would examine the rules governing the regulators of the privatised industry regulators such as Ofwat, Oftel and Ofgas.

Each regulator has enormous power to determine competition pol-

icy, but the degree of independence expected is not clearly defined in

Moreover, the Government

eens to have lost all sense of posi-

ive direction at a crucial time for the

uture of Britain. This is particularly

true of the vital question of the de-

velopment of a modern democratic

Europe with Britain "at its heart".

ask who regulates the regulators," a Nolan committee source said. They all have sharply differing lines of accountability and are subject to differing degrees of scrutiny

any overall code. "We may need to

y Commons select committees. The Noian committee, set up by John Major to look into standards in public life, is due to run until October 1997. After the election, it is likely that many committee menibers will want to examine the

financing of political parties.

The National Lottery regulator, Mr Davis, last month announced an inquiry into bribery claims by Richard Branson, writes Andrew Culf. Details of the inquiry were re-

vealed as Mrs Bottomley was summoned to the Commons to answer questions about the conduct of Mr Davis, who accepted free flights from a Camelot shareholder, GTech.

The inquiry into claims by the Virgin Group chairman, Richard Branson, made on BBC's Panorama programme, that GTech's chairman, Guy Snowden, offered him a bribe to withdraw his lottery bid, is to begin this month, headed by Anne Rafferty QC, chairman of the Criminal Bar Association.

Mr Branson said the inquiry head should have been appointed independently of Offot and the Heritage Department, and the review should be in public. It should also consider the procedures by which Mr Davis vetted GTech when choosing who should run the lottery. "Unless the proposed inquiry has

these safeguards and is able to search for the truth without constraint, then it would lack public confidence and credibility," he said in a letter to Mr Davis.

A spokesman for GTech said: "We are very happy about the inquiry. We have nothing to hide."

## Church stirs asylum row

Madeleine Bunting and Patrick Wintour

A N OVERTLY political welfare initiative has been launched by churches to provide feeding centres, soup runs and hostels for thousands of refugees as the Government axes benefits to asylum

seekers this year, Churches and agencies believe they could face a humanitarian disaster of highly vulnerable people in-cluding children and the elderly who will find themselves without shelter in the middle of winter.

A nationwide aid network is being prepared, with church halls used as daytime shelters, soup kitchens and advice centres.

In a sharp implicit criticism of government policy, church leaders have written to leading denomina tions in London, calling for volun-teers to provide a network of trained

In one letter, sent shortly before Christmas, the Bishop of South-wark, the Rt Rev Roy Williamson, urged congregations to protest to Jonathan Lloyd, the Bishop of Southwark's social action officer, said the church was being forced to step into the breach: "If asylum seekers can't depend on the state to provide a safety net, then the church has to step in. Who else is there?"

The Bishop of Southwark said he had already heard of landlords and hostels rejecting refugees as ten-ants for fear that their housing benefit would be cut. The Government is proposing to remove all housing benefit and income support from all people who claim asylum after entering the UK, and from all people appealing against a decision to refuse asylum status.

 The Home Secretary, Michael Howard, is on a two-week tour of India and Pakistan to review the granting of visas and to explain his plans to cut the number of asylum seekers from the two countries. He vill also offer help to reduce the heroin trade.

Home Office officials insisted he was not making his visit to justify the Asylum and Immigration Bill,

#### New Zealand woos teachers

woo back hundreds of expatriate ers will be needed next year. teachers staffing British classrooms, writes Donald MacLeod.

Up to 1,000 New Zealanders are estimated to be in British schools, particularly in London, as a way of financing travel to Europe on their "OE" — overseas experience.

Now the Wellington government, which has enjoyed a surplus of teachers for years, is calling them home to fulfil its promise to reduce class sizes. Advertising in London and Strathclyde has been aimed at New Zealanders, although British teachers are also being recruited.

Rising numbers of primary schoolchildren and the New Zea-

| EW Zealand has begun' an ad- | land government's target limit of 25 vertising campaign in Britain to to a class mean an extra 1,000 teach-

With Britain's Teacher Training Agency expressing concern about recruitment, London schools are bracing themselves for a rerun of the shortage in the late eighties as the easing of the recession opens up alternative jobs.

During the last shortage, the British authorities targeted qualified New Zealanders and Australians, who were often working in bars or on building sites, and even advertised at the Munich beer festival.

Headteachers have called on the School Teachers' Review Body to make a pay award that would avert a recruitment crists.

C.

nior officer in the MoD" of refusing

to endorse a change of tactics be

cause of its implications for the

RAF's Nato strategy. Sir Peter regarded this as disgraceful interference in what should have been the

prerogative of the local commander

The RAF did switch to medium-

level laser-guided bombing. But not

in time to prevent the captured crew

of a Tornado being dragged before lraqi TV cameras. That humiliation

struck deep. Its effects have resur-

aced four years on in a £650 million

RAF programme to develop a new

ground-attack weapon known as

Cusom (Conventionally Armed

The operational requirement

specifies that aircraft like the Tor

nado, the Harrier and the Eu

rofighter 2000, must be able to

launch the missile at an enemy air

field from at least 125 miles. Seven

firms are bidding for the contract.

that had she still been prime minis

ter, she would have urged the US

During the surrender negotia

tions at Safwan, in southern Iraq,

asked General de la Billière why th

allies stopped short of pursuing the

Iraqis, either north towards Bagh

He replied that strategic factors

apart, allied troops had lost their ap

petite for shooting a retreating

dad or eastwards into Basra.

president to press on to Baghdad.

In the series, Lady Thatcher says

Stand-off Missile).

**Gulf war general accuses** 

MoD of 'disgraceful' role

David Fairhail

EMANDS for an inquiry were

Sir Peter de la Billière, Britain's Gulf war commander, accused the Min-

istry of Defence of "disgraceful

interference" in his conduct of the

campaign, and of causing deaths among RAF pilots by insisting on low-level boards, the shadow defence

secretary, said: "This inquiry must

be top-level, urgent and penetrative.

alarm and despondency at the al-

leged role of the MoD."

These comments give rise to grave

In a forthcoming BBC television

documentary on the fifth anniversary

of the war, the general shows himself

primarily concerned to avoid unnec-

essary casualties - even refusing a

proposal from General Norman Schwarzkopf, the US overall com-

mander, to attach Britain's 1st Ar-

moured Division to the US Marines

in a frontal assault on the Iraqis' main

He insisted instead on an outflank-

ing manoeuvre for which his tanks

were better suited. He says he was

also quick to suggest a change in

RAF low-level bombing tactics when

four Tornados were lost in as many

US aircraft bombed from medium

In the BBC series, the Gulf com-

DETECTIVES investigating the death of Celine Figurd, a

French hitchhiker found murdered

in a Worcestershire lay-by, are con-

sidering possible links with previ-

The 19-year-old accountancy stu-

dent's naked body was found last

week, 10 days after she was last

seen accepting a lift from a lorry dri-

ver at a service station near New-

ander accuses "one particular se- l

Link in student murder hunt

altitude with few losses.

Alex Bellos

nade this week after General

exp F

Althour Ineralia actions in the action the action the action to the acti

"Orff with her ring" . AFTER TENNIEL -

# Queen orders royal divorce

**Guardian Reporters** 

HE QUEEN last month broke with royal protocol to disclose that she wished to see an "early divorce" between the Prince and Princess of Wales in a capped a year that has arguably been more damaging for the monarchy than the annus horribilis of

Ending a month of speculation that began with the Princess of Wales's interview for Panorama on November 20, the Queen wrote a private letter to both the prince and princess expressing her anger and frustration at their continued public squabbling and demanding an immediate end to their marriage.

Buckingham Palace said that after considering the current turbulent situation "the Queen wrote to give her view that an early divorce is desirable". It added that the Queen was fully supported in her position by the Duke of Edinburgh.

It is understood that since the princess made her Panorama interview, the Prince of Wales has shared

George Carey, was consulted before the letters were sent and agreed

The Queen's outspoken conments pave the way for a divorce that could take place within a matter of weeks. Under normal divorce procedures, marriage terminations to which both parties agree take at least three months to fulfil, but this case is likely to be seen as an exceptional one for which procedures will be expedited

The Queen's statement was doubly extraordinary because the protocol to which the palace adheres is that no comment is made on any matter impinging on the personal affairs of members of the royal family.

But the anger of the Queen has been widely known over the outspoken comments that the princess made to Panorama about her marriage and about the Prince of Wales prospects of becoming king. The princess cast doubt on his ability to cope with the stresses and tensions associated with occupying the

In the Panorania interview, she said she did not want a divorce but had not discussed the matter with said one resident, Natalie Nedd.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, her husband. She added: "Obviously we need clarity on the situation".

The Princess did not spend Christmas Day with the royal famly, in contradiction of an earlier announcement that she would be at Sandringham as usual. • The Princess's ambition to

come a "goodwill ambassador" for Britain hit an unexpected snag, when she became the target o angry protests on the Caribbean is-land where she was holidaying, writes Sue Quinn

The self-styled Queen of Hearts infuriated residents of Barbuda, who rallied at their town hall to complain about the closure of a public beach, to which they had been forbidden access for the sake of her privacy.

Police and officers of the Antigua and Barbuda Defence Force are reported to have declared the white sands near the island's exclusive K-Club resort a VIP-only zone to protect the princess against intrusion by the prying lenses of a posse of press photographers.

Chief Superintendent John Me-Cammont of West Mercia police free to do what we want on them, so who is leading the inquiry, said: we're not at all happy about this," There are several cases around the country where naked women have been found adjacent to major roads with similar injuries. We are in con-

> picked up at a service station, that we will be looking at." Ms Turner, aged 32, was last seen

ury, Berkshire.

alive at a service station on the Me in Staffordshire in March 1994. Her naked body was found in a ditch near Bitteswell, Leicestershire. Celine was travelling from France

to visit her cousin, who works as a head waiter at a hotel in the New Forest. The investigation, using 8 officers from three forces, has still failed to trace the ginger-haired driver who gave Celine a lift in his white Mercedes lorry at Chieveley service station on the M4.

A police spokesman said there were 1,200 similar lorries registered acrosa the country but he was confi dent the driver would be found "Whether or not he is Celine's killer s another matter."

Concern about nine almilar mu ders in the Midlands over the past few years led to officers meeting tact with other forces. There is one early last year to discuss the possi case in particular.— that of Tracy bility of a connection. Detectives ad-Turner — where the victim was mitted there were similarities, but subsequently dismissed any formal

# Judges review right to die

i Scotland is to be considered b the country's three senior judges because of the importance of the

It means a delay in any decision on Janet Johnstone, who has been in a coma for nearly four years.

Law Hospital NHS trust in Lanark ough victim Tony Bland, Lord shire is seeking a declaration that it Mackay said.

52, who doctors say is in a vegetative state with no hope of recovery.

of Drumadoon, said it was not his in tention to frustrate the doctors, but he had to ensure that it was legally competent. This was only fair to doc tors and relatives of the patient. If the court could not grant per-

mission in a case like that, then it was a matter for Parliament. Scotland was now out of step with Eng land, where the House of Lords had ruled on the case of the Hillsbor.

A year ago the miners bought Tower Colliery in South Wales. They were told it was unviable. Now it's in profit, John Mullin celebrates the pit that wouldn't close

## A shaft of light in a dying valley

night, cheery Christmas bulbs on top of the pithead. The workers used to be refused permission to put them up. But that was back then, and the men and women of Tower Colliery no longer need heed bosses' hum-

QUARDIAN WEEKLY

Hirwaun and Aberdare, the miners of Tower were heaving back the drink. They were celebrating the festive season and the most astonishing year in the long history of the last deep mine in South Wales.

They own the mine now, and equally. They did what they were told was impossible: to post a profit. This year they will announce pre-tax profits of £2.1 million on £15.7 million turnover. There are 246 of them. Each is worker and capitalist. at the only coal pit in the world of its type. Once they were informed their ream could never be achieved, Michael Heseltine, the then Industry Secretary, and British Coal, called the pit "unviable". There were problems with seismic sur-

veys, they were told. None had a degree in geology, it was true. But they knew their mine. Many had worked at the coal-face for 30 years and more. There was, they knew, no doubt of its potential. The politicians and managers changed tack. There was, the miners were informed, no market for the anthracite they produced. It might be the finest of all coals, but who, they were asked with patronising rhetoric, would want to buy it

And so Tower, the last in a region which once employed 270,000, was to be consigned to the history books. The colliery closed in April 1994. British Coal executives, after months of shifting goalposts, and shenanigans too depressing to detail, signed the pit's death warrant. But the miners thought they could see the hand of government pulling at the puppet strings. Never mind that the workers had met increasingly fraught output targets. Or that they had earned profits of £28 million in three years.
It was a decision which had Ty-

rone O'Sullivan, aged 50, in tears. He had been National Union of Mineworkers' lodge secretary for 22 years, and he was driving back after the last meeting with British Coal. He was required to sign those forms, but refused. An NUM official for South Wales filled in for him, "It broke my heart that night. Twentyeight years I had been at this pit,"

There were five members of the Tower Lodge at the meeting in Newport. They were summoned there mmediately after the workers voted to close the pit following threats from British Coal to cut redundancy terms. They decided on a consolation drink as they returned home. They nipped into the Full Moon in

"We had a few drinks, and then we phoned our families and got them down." It was then that the Tower miners hatched the plan which would provide a new beginning. And so they set to work, bring-

ARM and bright they glowed in the cold South Wales night, cheery employment is around one in three. devastated Cynon Valley. Male unemployment is around one in three. Wage rates are horrendously depressed: the job centre in Aberdare advertised recently for a security guard at an hourly rate of £1,50 (\$2,30). And any applicant had to supply his own dog.

To succeed in its task the NUM lodge would have to count on the strong spirit of the Tower workforce: Tower had long had a reputation as staunchly socialist - indeed many around here believe that is why the authorities are so keen to close it down. It was a citadel for workers' solidarity. Its miners took part in the Merthyr riots of 1831, the first to fly the red flag. No one is quite sure if it was a cow, sheep or goat that was sacrificed to dye :

The miners remember with awe how William Richards, then the leading union official at the pit, went to fight in the Spanish Civil War. He died in 1936. Death was never far away: asking around the Penywaun social club and every fourth bings player had lost a father, an uncle or a grandfather. One dreadful day in October 1962 nine men were killed in an explosion.

O'Sullivan has seen 14 men die within arm's length. His father was killed in June 1963 in a roof collapse. His great grandfather and two great uncles died on the same day

The deaths, the bauter, and the political history all shaped Tower. its own nickname is Little Moscow. O'Sullivan, drawing from US journalist John Reed's account of that turning point in history, called his diary of the demise of Tower in its Days That Shook The World. He



All work and real pay . . . Tower installation deputy Brian Lundregan does his paperwork at the end of a shift while, below, miners wait at the pithead for their shift to begin

could only succeed if they stuck logether. He never doubted they

The first step was to ask each of hose interested to stump up £2,000 rom their redundancy payments. which averaged about £18,000. A bank account was set up four days later, with £364,000. Glyn Roberts, a fourth-generation miner, recalls aving £30,000 under his bed.

The team of five NUM lodge officials took advice from Fairwater Consultants, set up by the Welsh TUC to aid worker participation in buy-outs; then they did something deft they asked Price Waterhouse, the accountants who had seques trated NUM funds during the strike to act for them. O'Sullivan admits i was a mischievous stroke. But i was also done because the miners knew the outfit had strong ties to the Government.

They drew up a business plan, and appointed a management team. ures. The coup was to secure Philip Weeks, former director of the National Coal Board in South Wales, as chairman. (He had resigned in protest at lan McGregor's closure programme after the miners' strike decade ago.) Weeks was delighted to help out. Next came what Heseltine suggested would be tricky: to secure buyers for the coal. They estimated they would produce 395,000

tons a year. Provisional contracts for up to five years were drawn up, and after production began, another was signed with British Steel, the first time that organisation has brought any British coal in 10 years.

But there was, again contrary to Heseltine's predictions, no shortage of private companies prepared to give Tower a go. At one point a dozen firms were preparing bids. Fower Employee Buy-Out (Tebo) strengthened its hand by going back to its shareholders, the work force. They were each asked for a further £6,000, and virtually every-

days to put the deal together, was at an NUM meeting in Barnsley when news came through that 'Tebo had been confirmed as preferred bidder. "I had to get back. I knew I wouldn't make it to the pub, but J just wanted home. I drove all the way in the inside lane. I was saying to myself: 'Now Ty, don't die tonight,' I walked into the house in darkness. But everyone was waiting up for me after the pub. It was a lovely moment."

The sale was completed on De-cember 23, 1994. O'Sullivan sat signing documents for three hours. The last was to confirm the change ton boots. And then he handed over a cheque for £1 million.

Tebo formally took control at one minute past midnight on Christmas Eve. The team went up to the pit, whisky bottles in hand. It was a cold and frosty night, but clear, They had a party in the yard, and toasted the

None had any doubt that they could make it work, but they have exceeded expectations. Miners say morale has never been higher. Pit

mew his plan for a workers' buy-out | They concentrated on respected fig- | is saved it's more for us, our families and the community. There is none of the reluctance there used to be when the boys were asked to desomething.

"It really is a fantastic pit. I was away from it for 20 months, and it was the worst time of my life. I love the camaraderie."

The miners are paid up to £403 a week, depending on the job. The basic is higher than in the old days, though there is less scope for overtime. Each worker this year received a £500 payment out of

The management system is different, too. Workers are consulted about all decisions. Ann Clwyd, MP for Cynon Valley, who stayed down the pit for 27 hours in April 1994 without food or water in an attempt to persuade British Coal to keep i open, said the miners' victory had electrified one of the UK's most deprived areas. "This is the first time we have had what we regard as a victory over the Government in all these years. It has given us both hope and belief."

It has given a similar boost to people throughout the country, says O'Sullivan, who presented President Clinton with a Tower Colliery tie when he met him at an international union meeting in New York last month. His office is festooned with cards. One, from Felicity Smith, of Stroud, Gloucestershire, reads: "It just goes to show what courage and determination can

There is also a copy of the 10 socialist commandments on his wall. Number Eight reads: "Observe and think in order to discover the truth. Do not believe what is contrary to reason, and never deceive yourself miners' guiding principle — but there is an irony. O'Sullivan, now personnel director, said: "What hate about this is that we have given privatisation of coal a friendly face and good name. Never mind that 100,000 miners have lost their jobs. That really narks me."

The miners say that Tower has a long-term future. A new seam opens in April and plans are in place for an other. The team wants to maximise lobs, not profits. They say they have deputy Brian Lundregan, aged 38, said there is much less wastage:
"Everyone knows that if something Roberts said."

#### Lottery comes up to scratch in an instant

John Ezard

THE WORDS "instant". "scratchcard" and "rollover are to go into new editions of the three main dictionaries — Oxford, Collins and Chambers

- it was announced last week.

The National Lottery organisers, Camelot, rejoiced at how quickly they had become a national institution. Yet they are still dwarfed in popularity by other more caustic buzz-words ınd phrases of life in the mid-

The runaway winner was "sleaze" — even more favoured as a term about politics in 1995 than it was in 1994, when the MPs' cash-for-questions row

Some phrases have kept a currency which began earlier in the decade — reflecting how little the British economy has changed in the 1990s. But

"road rage" and "spin doctor" have come virtually out of nowhere to high places in the list, which is compiled from the Financial Times' electronic Profile database. It holds the text of all British broadsheet newspapers and some tabloids

as far back as 1982. Partly thanks to the Nolan inaround 5,400 times last year 30 per cent more often than in 1994. Second favourite, with nearly 3,000 entries, was the environment cliché "sustainable", made fashionable by the

1992 Earth Summit. Next were "negative equity (1,503 entries, more than in 1993 or 1994), "information superhighway", a noun virtually non-existent two years ago (1,450 entries), "feisty" (761), "road rage" (486), "defining moment" (417) and "spin doctor", (412), "Scratchcard" (401) was unsearchable by computer.

ninth, followed by "mindset" (261), with "rollover" (255) eleventh, "Instant" is too common a word to single out from

. Among other terms coming up on the inside track as possible favourites for this year are on the cusp" (235), "gangsta" (210), and "jungle music" (58).

"epiphany", was published 187 times. The novelist James Joyce dapted this Christian word in 1916 to mean "a sudden spiritual manifestation . . . the most delicate and evanescent of moments". Now it is most commonly used to indicate "I quite enjoyed that film/pop. record/soap opera". But the word-of-mouth fashion for other recent phrases from TV or royal soap operas such as "I'll always"

be there for you" or "There were

three of us in this marriage", is

legal issues it raises. Lord Cameron of Loch Broom told the Court of Session in Edinburgh last month that he would not be issuing a judgment, after nearly 3 days of evidence and legal argument. Instead he is to make a report for the Inner House of senior judges to consider.

THE first right-to-die case in | would be lawful for it to stop artifi-

The Lord Advocate, Lord Mackay

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NOUGH IS ENOUGH. The Government should call an immediate general election to restore proper governance to a country that has suffered enough from the death pangs of the Conservative party. Emma Nicholson's decision to join the Liberal Democrats — the second Tory defection in three months — is likely to reduce the Government's majority to only one after two pend-ing byelections. Pro-European Tory MP Hugh Dykes warns that six or seven more defections are possible unless the Government returns to moderate policies. The loss of Emma Nicholson will leave the Government ever more dependent on the Ulster Unionists whose continued loyalty, as they made clear, comes with a strict price tag. The Conservatives could pretty soon find themselves running a minority government trying to implement legislation that hardly anyone wants while responding to the bleatings of a minority of disaffected rightwing MPs whose views are unrepresentative of the electorate at large. It is not impossible to run a successful minority government. Some people still look back to the Lib-Lab pact of the late seventies as a watershed of sensible policies. But the conditions of consensual policies which existed then certainly don't exist now. Where is the support for privatisation of the railways or nuclear power, for the asylum bill, for the squeeze on oneparent familes, for the one-eved determination to cut essential public spending to generate pre-elec-toral tax cuts that few people admit to wanting?

In his New Year message John Major said that Great Britain needed and deserved a government that could lead from experience as well as conviction and which would continue to steer the econtion and which would continue to steer the economy with skill. "Only the Conservatives can do that," he added. What piffle. Even long-standing Conservatives — of which Ms Nicholson and Alan Howarth are the tip of an iceberg — no longer believe it. Can even Mr Major himself believe, deep down, that the party which twice in a decade steered the British economy into unnecessarily steered the British economy into unnecessarily deep recession and which blew the housing market apart in the late eightles, did so with "skill"? Even the modest recovery we are now enjoying owes much more to the failure of a seminal government policy — the dogged determination to maintain an overvalued currency until it fell apart in September 1902. 1992 — than to any skills. Last year Mr Major did a courageous thing. He laid his leadership of the Conservative party on the line, daring anyone to put up or shut up, to clear the air. That has patently failed. His beloved party is disintegrating before his eyes, unable to hold itself together even though an election is looming. The maximum period of 14 or 15 months between now and the next election is a long time for a country to be ruled by a party which has lost the will — and the ability — to govern in the interests of everyone. It is time for Mr Major to put the interests of the country above those of his

#### Mean cuts to **World Service**

THE GOVERNMENT'S plan to cut back heavily the BBC World Service is at best ill-advised and at worst vindictive. Britain has few organisation deemed to be world leaders but the World Service is one of them. It broadcasts in 41 languages to 133 million listeners — more than any other international broadcaster — and is respected as a role model everywhere. It is thus uniquely placed for further growth as the world media revolution folds. The Government ought to be expanding its operations, not cutting them. If the World Service were in the private rather than the public sector it would be feted as a huge success which the Foreign Office would break its back to promote, But because it is in the public sector, where success is often met with resentment, the opposite is happening. Even before the latest round of cuts it had to reduce its budget by 8 per cent in real terms over three years as a result of earlier ministerial decisions. These cuts would have been even worse but for an early day motion in Parliament in 1993 which attracted 408 cross-party signatories, the

(£5.4 million) this year. This is not only stupid but (£5.4 million) this year. This is not only stupid but unethical since the agreed three years are not yet up. The effect won't be catastrophic but it does mean that the BBC will be forced to borrow much more expensively from the private sector to make good the shortfall. The crunch comes in 1997/98 when the World Service's £135 million budget will be savaged by £10 million (from operating cuts, inflation and the effects of private inancing) even before it has engaged tally on its port three many deal. fore it has opened talks on its next three-year deal. This will inevitably mean cuts in services unless the Government climbs down. There will almost certainly be another early day motion attracting cross-party opposition to the cuts but it won't be inding. A large number of Conservatives oppose the cuts but not strongly enough to bring down the Government. But if Labour tabled a carefully targeted amendment aimed at doing nothing more than reversing the cuts it would almost certainly be carried on a wave of Tory support. One thing which won't be a problem is finding the money to make up the shortfall. This could be extracted with ease from a 10 per cent cut in the FO's £130 million-a-year entertainment budget. The FO is responsible for the World Service - subject to editorial freedom — and if it can't stand up for its ward, then it should sacrifice a few gin and tonics.

It is the World Service's misfortune that, like blood, Britain gives it away free. Or does it? We will never know, because we can't quantify how much the programmes foster a favourable climate for British culture translatable into visits to Britain, political harmony, and the purchase of British exports. The English language is Britain's priceless asset and this is one of the best conduits to exploit it. A government which can't see that is either deeply prejudiced or blind. Or both.

#### **European bus** hits the kerb

Jan. 7,96 CW

WO BUSES left from Turkey on Christmas Eve — we have it on the authority of Prime Minister Tansu. Ciller herself. One was heading "for the past", the other "for Europe". Unfortunately, the Welfare Party's bus, with Islamic values and social justice on its destination board, has now gained the psychological edge by outpacing both Ms Ciller's True Path Party and its centre-right rival, the Matherland Party. The party of the derive your the Motherland Party. The name of the game now changes from beating the fundamentalists at the polls to keeping them out of office. It has been played with singular lack of success elsewhere along the Mediterranean. Turkey may be different, but it is still a dodgy course.

The Welfare Party, under its leader Necmettin Erbakan, does advocate a semi-detached policy from the West and closer ties between Turkey and the Arab and Islamic worlds. Welfare invokes the grandeur of the Ottoman Empire as much as the glory of Islam. But the social basis for the party's support is rooted in its control since last year of 21 municipalities. Welfare has won support among the urban poor. Cheap bread and fuel are as much a part of its message as the Koran. Ankara waged a successful campaign within the

BU to secure Turkey's long-delayed entry into the customs union, but this does not appear to have had the magical effect on the electorate for which Ms Ciller had hoped. Europeanisation is a double-edged weapon for a country which will always he located in a geopolitical borderland. Cold war thinking insisted that Turkey be part of the West though it also faces East. This persists in the new version of cold war thinking built around the 'Islamic threat'. It would be more sensible to view Turkey as an intermediate state whose alignment may not always be precisely or permanently defined. It can create openings into Central Asia and links with its neighbours (not just Iran) which have their own value. For what it's worth, when Mr Erbakan visited the US a year ago, he made some effort to inform US officials that Turkey would never become another Algeria. He has also denied any intention of seeking to break with | Dr Paisley's crazed manipulations. Europe.

Ms Ciller's image as a modern, secular, liberal alternative to the Welfare Party has some appeal but it is flawed by two large blemishes. One is the scheme for cadres of gangaters, abuse of human rights in the war against Kurdish | politicians who would have no funcseparatism, in spite of a few recent gestures. The | tion if it was taken away. other is the taint of government corruption which — in the manipulation of the land law for speculathird largest on record.

Now the World Service faces two further swings of the axe. The first is a 20 per cent capital cut

# Peace and goodwill, but not yet in Ireland

Hugo Young

S A YEAR of peace, 1995 had Aits moments. Some theatres of death — Algeria, Chechenia, Rwanda - are soaked in the blood of many more innocents than when the cold war imposed a curfew on tribal slaughter. But some historic struggles have succumbed to a version of peace after years of terror. In Britain, it has been a big, unforgettable year. The Great Power has exercised its responsibilities. Bosnia, the Middle East, Ireland: Bill Clinton could yet be re-elected as a global hero.

Ireland is especially proud to be counted. For Clinton, the Irish-American voter plays roughly the part oil did for George Bush when he took America into the Gulf war: a commodity he knew he could not do without. If a permanent peace comes to Ireland Clinton will deserve some credit. But that's not the main message from 1995. Never has the Irish question seemed so utterly undeserving of the massive international attention bestowed on it.

The Middle East peace, if it progresses, will have settled a dispute of impenetrable complexity, reaching through territory, ethnicity, religion and military power. Acts of selfless magnanimity have been required to start the process, continue t despite assassination and permanent simmering rebellion, and persist with a strategy of sacrifice for the sake of a greater good for the greatest number

The Bosnian deal, if it survives, ngages Nato to police a peace that doesn't yet exist. The history of a country is being unpicked, its multi-racial tradition defined as no longer tenable. This truly qualifies as tragedy. The mismatch between territory and nation, through a thou-sand villages in choppy valleys and hillsides, is not capable of solution.

Set beside these ramifying crises. Ireland's problem seems merely squalid: a tribute to the historic incompetence of politicians. The emperor of Ulster turns out to have few

In the continuity of peacelessness, neither Palestine nor Bosnia can claim quite such a record over so many righteous centuries. And the world has been blackmailed into giving this history the same respect which Irish politicians believe it

But the Irish question has, in truth, neither much dignity nor much complexity. It is not about great issues but small, incorrigible hatreds. Once elevated as a religious question, it has lost its claim to this halo of sanctity, since religion, even in Ireland, has become for most people a matter of pretext not essence. As the south shakes off its clericalism, the Beast of Rome becomes more plainly a figment of As God gives way to Mammon, the argument is exposed as almost wholly self-indulgent, a make-work

Nor is the question any longer imbued with intrinsic necessity. on the lives of northern Catholics.

But the transformation of that posi-tion is the one real gain from the history of the last 25 years. Even Adams and McGuinness fall back on historic injustices rather than present ones as the moral basis of their case. There is no suppression of religion, of tribe, of political

Nor does Ireland have any imporiance beyond its own shores. This is not a struggle that could blow up the world, or destroy Europe. Mer cifully, though the bombs used to get here and may do so again, the political and cultural argumen doesn't even reach across the Irish Sea. Ireland has never politicised Britain, a fact that has helped prolong the Irish problem's unbreakable resilience. It is a static contest, between the political leaders of people who are threatened with neither ethnic cleansing nor territorial disturbance, whose dispute has few complexities beyond its waning his toric residue, yet who require the world community to come and solve their problem — if, that is, they re ally want it to be solved. For when would Ireland be, in the recognition of the workl, if it were nothing more than a small island off the offshore island off the mainland of Europe?

HAT COATS the entire lrish problem — its most pitiful, and in the end contemptible, difference from both the Middle East and former Yugoslavia is a generalised refusal to com promise. Somehow the Irish prob lem, though now wholly artificial is sequestered by bigots from solution, whereas both Bosnia and Is rael, beset by the most painfully real crises history could construct, has elicited a generosity in the cause of statesmanship that will make 1995 a year not to forget.

"I feel like a man who is drinking bitter but useful medicine," said Alija Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia, when he signed the Dayton accord. "But I can assure you we are signing this peace treaty with sh-cerity." Prime Minister Rabin, before he gave his life, attested to the necessity of sacrifice for peace and committed himself to the Immense task of persuading his people that they should actually give up land.

In Ireland such words and actions from any of the main protagonists seem unimaginable. Even the IRA ceaselire must not be graced with that name, may only be termed cessation lest anything so definitive as a concession is mistaken to have occurred. As for the Unionists, no concession of any kind can be contemplated before they sit around a table. Yet the draught they might sample, merely that of dialogue, isn't half so bitter as Izetbegovic's.

to be assembled behind the Irish question. These grizzled worship pers of ancient history must recog nise that their causes have become futile. It may be too much to expec the gang-leaders and pseudo-re gious zealots who masquerade a political leaders, and are quit happy to keep the Ulater imbroglio going in perpetuity, to change their habits overnight. In Bosnia and the Middle East, something large is happening for the world. In Ireland, how much longer will the world continue to be the life-support system for political incompetence?

**GUAFILIAN WEFKLY** 

# Le Monde

## South-east Asia caught up in arms race

Jean-Claude Pomonti in Bangkok

HE imponderables resulting from the end of the cold war, coinciding with an economic boom, have triggered an arms race in south-east Asia. While the risk of local conflicts breaking out has been substantially reduced by the efforts of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (Asean). Beijing's increasing recourse to strong-arm tactics, particularly in the past four years, is beginning to cause glarm in some countries in the region, where Chinese minori ties play a crucial economic role.

The fact that China recently rearmed the Burmese army at a cost of \$1-2 billion is regarded as an ill omen for the region, particularly is the United States, which no longer has any permanent military presence in that part of the world does not seem keen to get involved in any regional conflict.

That consideration, coming on top of China's series of military manoeuvres off Taiwan and its determination to bring Hong Kong to heel in mld-1997, has given added mpetus to the arms race.

Potentially the most dangerou source of tension in south-east Asia could come from sovereignty claims over the South China Sea. The Chinese occupy the northern archipelago of the Paracel Islands, from which they dislodged a South Viet-

Juppé still

has a hard

road ahead

THE round-table talks which French prime minister Alain

Juppe convened on December

21, after three weeks of nation-wide strikes, lasted all of 10

hours, yet not much headway

was made. Jean Gandols, head

of the French employers' coun-cli, who had had to fight hard

within his organisation to win agreement for his decision to

take part in Juppé's "social sum mit", summed up its result rather aptly: "It's going to be a

It is true that the outlook

bleak for wage-earners and old-

age pensioners, who will bear the brunt of a fresh series of social se-

curity deductions as 1996 starts,

Things look equally bleak for the

that the alowdown in growth will

result in lower tax revenues and

social security contributions in 1996. It is consequently being

cautious about handing out the

kind of incentives that are likely to

It has also been a disappoint-ing result for those who believe

in social dialogue: all that grew

out of an exceptionally powerful

protest movement, which was re-

atimulate economic activity.

poor man's Christmas.

**EDITORIAL** 

namese garrison in 1974, and to the government of the Philippines sions organised by Indonesia and which Hanol now lays claim. They and Muslim separatists in the south the Philippines have failed to solve are thought to have built an airstrip on it for fighter-bombers some years ago. Five countries (Malaysia.

the Philippines, Vietnam, China and Talwan) have troops stationed on the southern archipelago of the The small sultanate of Brunel, on

the northwest tip of the island of Borneo, lays claim to some of the Spratly Islands, although it has no presence there. Bones of contention, and in par-

ticular border disputes, abound it the Indochinese peninsula and south-east Asia, which comprise 10 countries and half a billion inhabitants. It is a region where maritime borders often overlap. Cambodia, for example, is in dis-

pute with its two larger neighbours, Thailand and Vietnam, It accuses them of having shifted border markers. In 1995 serious clashes, which resulted in several people being killed, took place between Thais and Burmese, who both lay claim to the rich fish stocks of the Andaman

The fact that Asean includes seven states in the region and will shortly offer membership to the re maining three (Cambodia and Laos in 1997 or 1998, and Burma probably by 2000) is the main reason why the situation has remained relatively

of the archipelago, which resulted in a provisional agreement, were held in Djakarta under the patronage of the Indonesian government. The storm of protest triggered off

in the Philippines last year when murder in Singapore has also died down, since good neighbourliness between Asean countries is regarded as more important than any ther consideration.

Malaysia and Thailand have set good example: they now jointly fish in a once disputed maritime zone in Asean could also eventually pro

vide a useful structure when comes to solving the problems that will inevitably be caused by a mounting influx of immigrants, Hundreds of thousands of Sumatrans, whose standard of living low, have illegally entered peninsular Malaysia, which suffers from a labour shortage. Thailand has experienced an equally large influx of Burmese immigrants, who have left their country for economic or political reasons, and who offer a source of cheap labour.

But Asean will find it harder chieve a modus vivendi in the South China Sea in the face of mounting Chinese nationalism, which has been boosted by an extremely favourable balance of power. Several round-table discus-

the Philippines have failed to solve the problem: Beijing is in no mood to review the "indisputability" of its sovereignty over the sea, as "confirmed" by a decision of the Chinese parliament in February 1992.

Beijing is prepared to have talks, but not to negotiate, with Asean. As regards countries bordering on the South China Sea, it will agree only to bilateral negotiations with them - and even then only on condition that the issue under discussion is the joint exploitation of the zone.

and not sovereignty.

Meanwhile, the Chinese have reinforced their military presence in the two archipelagos - and have even ceded to an American oil company an oil concession located on the Vietnamese continental shelf southeast of Ho Chi Minh City.

China has also indicated that it will not recognise an Asean-spon-sored treaty signed in mid-December, which is intended to turn south-east Asia into a nuclearweanons-free zone, just as long as the South China Sea is not specifically excluded from the zone in

It goes without saying that if the leaders of the countries of southeast Asia are busy arming themthinking of their future relations with China - though they are care ful not to say so too explicitly.

Mother cast in role of untouchable

Bruno Philip in New Delhi

' N A speech she made on November 18 at New Delhi's Cathedral of the Sacred Heart, Mother Teresa urged the people of "this beautiful country" to remain "united and a

It was uncontentious stuff though her presence in that particular context was less so; the prayer necting in fact marked the high point of a campaign organised by the Catholic clergy in favour Christian untouchables.

Down the centuries, a number of intouchables became Christians and indeed Buddhists or Muslims to escape the ruthless caste sys em imposed by Hinduism.

But that did not mean they were able to shake off the "trappings" of heir caste, since high-caste converts, while still calling themselves Chrisians, continued to treat them like the untouchables that they or their forebears used to be. As a result, when ow- or high-caste Catholics go to church to pray — and this is esperially true of southern India — they sit in separate pews.

Zealots belonging to fundamentalist Hindu organisations were quick to interpret Mother Teresa's participation in the Delhi prayer meeting as proof of her political commitment.

Sushma Swaraj, a spokesman for the powerful Hindu Bharatiya Janata Party, claimed that Mother Feresa wanted to introduce the notion of untouchability into a religion which was not supposed to recognise the caste system. The introduction of a statutory quota system in churches of the kind enjoyed by untouchables in the civil service, would not, he said, serve the juterests of Christianity.

But the controversy did not end there. In the event, Mother Teresa lost out on every count: as soon as she got back to Calculta, she called a ress conference and stated that she had never intended to get involved in a debate of that kind. She said she had been misinformed about the

purpose of the prayer meeting.

Her remarks were not at all to the liking of the New Delhi archbishop's office and Christian activists. Father Lourduswamy, general secretary of the Coordination Committee for Indian Untouchables, said he was surprised that the Nobel prizewinner could have got things so wrong: "A written invitation was sent to her, explaining that the purpose of the prayer meeting was to demand greater justice for low-caste

Catholics." Another Catholic priest, Father As was the case with the Louis Viannet of the CGT, were | Soman Das, quoted by the weekly magazine Sunday, wondered whether Mother Teresa was suffering from amnesia. He went on to argue that she had been silly to recant, and that anyway her views on abortion and family planning proved she was out of touch.

Such remarks are most unusual coming from a Catholic priest. But they show, the magazine argues, that Mother Teresa is now probably more unpopular with the Indian clergy than she is with Hi:

extremists.



left the aceptics still aceptical, the disgruntled still disgruntled and the optimists trying to put the best possible gloss on their

If the industrial action which brought public transport to a standatili for three weeks was Juppé's plans to reform the social security system, then the social summit produced nothing, since concessions - over special pension rights, for example - had already been made.

There is no denying that the social lines of communication have been restored. But then industrial relations in a country as modern as France must have reached a sorry pass for such a markable more for the huge fuss to be made about the mere demonstrations it was able to fact that a prime minister was muster than for the strike action it inspired, was a charace which labour and management.

both sides have been talking to each other once again, But we are still a long way from any veritaole national pact — to encourage employment and fight social exclusion - of the kind that some of our European neighbours alone seem capable of devising.

It is of course a good thing that

Grenelle talks [which ended the industrial and student unrest of the December 21 talks, the fear May 1968], none of the conclu- must be that Juppe's social sumsions of December 21's social mit did nothing to lessen the desummit was signed by any representations. sentative of the trade unions or employers' council.

The statement read out by Juppé, with its promises of nego-tiations and intermediate review processes, sounded more like a roll-call of good intentions than a summing up of the talks just a yet greater slump in economic concluded. When he referred to the "joint determination" of the

government and representatives of labour and management "to make employment their absolute priority", he was really speaking only on behalf of the govern-

Since the leaders of the two most militant unions, Marc Blondel of Force Ouvrière and over the previous three weeks.

Once the political truce that is traditionally observed over Christmas and the New Year has expired, further industrial action remains a real risk, with, lurking in the background, the threat of

(December 23)

(December 26)

describes in his book Le 54ème the succession of ordeals organised by

Di Mambro in his bid to achieve his initiatory quest: followers were woken up in the middle of the night,

kept constantly on the move from

one place to another, subjected to Draconian rules of hygiene (their homes had to be disinfected daily).

and forced to follow a Spartan vegan

diet. "We were in a state of total dis-

orientation that allowed him to get

us to believe anything," wrote

Hugenin, whose wife Nathaile be-

came a latterday Queen of Atlantis

# Apocalyptic vision results in tragedy

Henri Tincq traces the origins of the Order of the Solar Temple after last month's apparent second suicide ritual involving 16 of its members and, below, looks at the difficulty of legislating to control sects

"performance", then clearly their deaths had to be too. Interestingly, they were not in the habit of refer ring to death as death, but preferred to call it a "great journey" or "a transit", convinced as they were that they belonged to a select elite — the "Great White Lodge" - that was destined to break away from the hateful modern world and attain, in the great invisible, higher states of consciousness. A recurring theme in their speeches and thoughts was the imminence of "the Apocalypse".

The Order of the Solar Temple has connections with New Age philosophy, and advocates practices based on natural medicine, strict rules governing diet and hygiene, yoga and ecology (biological farms), all of which are seen as ways of surviving until "the Apoca-

In the early eighties Luc Jouret, a Belgian homoeopathic doctor practising in Annemasse, in the Haute-Savole departement, tried to seize control of what was then known as the Reformed Order of the Temple, following the death of its "grand master", José Origas. Jouret had given up traditional medicine and spent all his time travelling and visiting healers, even as far afield as the

C\_

F THE lives of those who be-longed to the Order of the Solar caring for man in his totality", which would combine the therapeutic (the doctor) with the sacerdotal (the priest), Jouret had attempted in various ways to renew the legendary Order of the Temple, whose grand master Jacques de Molay had been burnt at the stake in 1814 at the behest of Philip the Fair.

In 1984, Jouret broke with the Reformed Order of the Temple and founded the Knightly International order of the Solar Tradition. He also ran societies with names like Archedia or Amenta, and travelled widely in Switzerland, France and Canada giving lectures and seminars.

Jouret, who was young (he was born in 1947) and smooth-talking. mesmerised audiences with his scientific and medical knowledge and his grasp of traditional forms of wisdom. He built up a band of faithful followers who went to listen to him in Geneva, Lausanne and the South of France. They consisted mainly of affluent technicians, doctors and people working in the arts. A majority of them were women.

Jouret tried out his favourite themes, such as the imminent and total transmutation of mankind as i entered the age of Aquarius. "We live in the reign of fire," he told Swiss radio listeners in 1987, "We are making a leap into macro-evolution. Our brains will undergo subtle and vibratory physical changes, where he worked as a healer. One



Prophet of doom . . . Luc Jouret built up a band of faithful followers consisting mainly of affluent profession

which will mean that man will respond to events in a different way."

Jouret jazzed up such familiar New Age talk with his own philosophy of the Temple, "a celestial archetype which brings together men and women capable of mobilising themselves and serving". But Jouret could not have turned

the Order of the Solar Temple into what it became without the help of Joseph Di Mambro, a shady figure also from the Annemasse region,

Another woman was pronounced to be the reincarnation of Queen Bapshepsut, and a third the wife of the centurion Claudius, who pierced Jesus's side. Di Mambro kept sect members in a state of collective hal He visited "grand masters" who vere living in hiding in Zurich, organised ritual ceremonies and talked enthusiastically about "revelations", "miracles" and "apparitions". He was the person who invented the "passports to eternity" and the "survival homes" that would enable followers to escape to 'the Apocalypse"

The question that bothers experts in such matters is: why did Di Mambro and Jouret decide to bring forward the date of "the Apocalypse"? Their names had begun to be talked about in the context of matter that had nothing to do with the sect, Di Mambro's in connection with financial swindles, and Jouret's with arms trafficking in Canada.

Did they decide to "give as good as they got" and restore the illusion of a whiter-than-white Order of the Solar Temple by playing out the Apocalypse and enacting a collec-tive suicide? It was certainly a very straightforward operation to organ ise, since members of the sect had ong since yielded up their minds and their freedom to the two evil

(December 26)

# Prophets in search of a congregation

THERE had been plenty of warnings, from distraught families, situation in France, it is increasingly opinion pollsters, members of par-llament and researchers, that prophets of doom would proliferate in the run-up to 2000. It was clear that, with the collapse of centuriesold ideologies, the waning influence of established churches, the breaking up of the social fabric and the crisis of moral values, the world was going to become a "supermarket" of beliefs and creeds.

Even in a Catholic country like France, books on the esoteric sell more copies than books on Christianity. With its collective trances and invocations of the Holy Spirit, Pentecostalism has spread like wildfire through the overcrowded cities of the Third World. We are told by believers that mankind will shortly see the dawn of a New Age of spiritual and planetary consciousness, as a result of our entering the age of

An increasing number of syncretic Temple thus find themselves caught up in a kind of mystico-esoteric constellation based on ancient or obscure traditions, esoteric, alternative practices (in medicine, for example), communal living and "transpersonal" psychology. Together they form the ingredients of a new counterculture for the nineties, chiefly notable for the proteun and heterodox nature of the beliefs concerned.

This is an area where the legislator bears a heavy responsibility.

difficult to distinguish, when faced with such a ragbag of modern beliefs, between the so-called "recognised religions", religions which are not recognised but enjoy a certain status (thanks to the "church assoclations" provided for by the 1905 law on the separation of church and state) and sects which have no legal status at all (such as the Church of Scientology or Jehovah's Witnesses) but which lay claim to the status provided for by the legis-

ation of 1905 and, to allay suspicion, appoint "ministers" of religion and call themselves "new religious movements" or "minority religions".
After the latest "collective suicide" of the Order of the Solar Temple in the Vercors mountains, public opinion and the media were quick to lamour for a blanket ban on sects. But things are not as simple as that, It has to be remembered that elementary principles of law, such as

he right of association and freedom of worship and of expression, are at take here. A number of key questions need to be answered; what objective criteria can be applied to determine whether a group or association is a sect of not, or whether it is dangerous or harmless? Is there not a risk, when the term "sect" is used, that philosophical or religious move-ments may be discredited purely on

unconventional? And while it is clear that sects, in the fullest sense of the term, do exist, it is hard to decide whether the best way of combating them is to introduce specific legislation, or merely to tighten up the law's existing preventive arsenal. The first phase of action by the

French government came with the Vivien Report, which was commissioned by Pierre Mauroy's government in 1982 and published two years later. It called on the police, magistrates, schools and the media to exercise the greatest possible degree of vigilance. But in the past 10 years, following the mushrooming of groups with religious pretensions, and incidents such as those at Waco and now in the Vercors, and child abuse in the Mandarom sect, which is also based in France, the problem has taken on an altogether

TN 1992 the Council of Europe, science and of religion, which was guaranteed by the European Convention on Human Rights, made any substantial legislation on sects problematic. It did, however, advocate educational and legislative mea-

sures to prevent abuse. Since it is impossible to ban sects, or even to pass legislation on them, the full range of already existing repressive measures, in civil, criminal, fiscal and social law, needs to be rights, set up in December 1993, called for a tight control of profits made by sects, as laid down by the law on church associations, and for a strict application of legislation on financial and accounting transparency. A pragmatic solution was proposed, as illustrated recently by ın agreement between Jehovah's Witnesses and the defence ministry. Jehovah's Witnesses, who refuse to do any kind of military service, can now perform a civilian form of ser-

of their favourite devices was to

force their followers to find figures

in antiquity of whom they were the

reincarnation. The wheeze became

an obsession, and soon resulted in

the physical, psychological and f

nancial manipulation that were to

Thierry Huguenin — who should

have been the 54th person to die in

the wave of collective suicides in

October 1994 that included the

names of both Jouret and Di Mam-

bro themselves in the list of dead -

become the sect's hallmark.

tious objectors. But such arguments don't cut nuch ice with the various groups which help victims of sects, and which themselves have some solid arguments to draw on. They contend that such legal and regulatory provisions are inadequate, since they can be evaded and are anyway mpossible to enforce.

vice without qualifying as conscien-

And then there is the question o the connivance which — rightly or wrongly --- sects are thought to enjoy in the upper echelons of the various rvice departments concerned.

Anti-sect organisations argue that while it is fairly easy to identify and, if need be, to prosecute financial fraud, public disorder or infringement of the law governing the protection of minors, it is virtually impossible to prove that individuals have suffered the kind of mental manipulation reported by people who have managed to escape the Order of the Solar Temple.

the grounds that they are minority strictly applied. What exactly is the groups, or that their teachings are available arsenal of legislation? The enough to hire battalions of lawyers, who twist the law in their favour,

snarl up the legal process by resort ing to delaying tactics, carry out ntimidatory manoeuvres, institute libel actions (often against the press), and impugn witnesses.

in other words, in the eyes of the defence associations and politicians who have been crusading against sects, French law is ill-equipped to deal with the illegal and sometimes tragic activities of sects. This is an old debate, but it has

been given fresh urgency by the need for preventive measures. An need to encourage, from school age onwards, a genuinely new and open approach towards the culture and history of religions, the alm being to create greater awareness and to

Somewhere between the set-up in italy or Germany, where religious classes are the rule, and the situstion in France, where such education is virtually non-existent, there is probably a third way. If it were against sects can start at a very early age, and that the governmen had at last decided to make it one of its priorities,

(December 27)

#### Le Monde

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# The Washington Post

# Returning to an Uncertain Future

How can the international community guarantee the safe repatriation of

refugees in Rwanda and Bosnia, asks lain Guest

ARLY this year the interna-tional community will start encouraging more than 4 million uprooted people to return and resettle in Rwanda and Bosnia. Given that both countries are synonymous with genocide, the question needs to be asked whether this is necessary, safe or wise. In broad terms, the answer must

be yes. The essence of ethnic cleansing was violent, forcible expulsion. There will be no peace for these damaged countries unless the victims are allowed to return, if not to their original homes then at least to a site of their choice in their

At the same time, conditions hardly seem propitious for a mass return. Croat militia began burning Serb houses in Bosnia before the ink was dry on the Dayton agreement.

In Rwanda, there is such anger about war criminals being at large among Hutu refugees outside the country that returning Hutu are subject to arrest. Here is the stark lilemma of contemporary refugee protection: On the one hand, the international community must take advantage of political openings like the Dayton agreement, and get refugees out of camps and back home. On the other hand, this has to be done without endangering lives. How can both

Under a 1951 convention, refugees who flee persecution have the right to seek asylum and not be turned away. The international community has made no comparable, legally binding commitment to protect them once they return. In spite of this, in the last five years at least 9 million refugees have gone back to countries that were also once wracked by violence and persecution. These include Burma, Afghanistan, Vietnam, South Africa, Namibia, Cambodia, El Salvador and Mozambique.

The vast majority have returned safely, and there is little to suggest they have been systematically taring. It can also be argued that conditions back home will never seem totally ripe for return, and that ' opportunities must be created and

This case is convincingly made in the latest State Of The World's Refugees, recently issued by Sadako Ogata, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, As one of the United Nation's most effective has been shed creating ethnically pure regions that it will clearly not be possible to rebuild a completely multi-ethnic state. People will have to leave to make way for returnees and new arrivals. Partners in a mixed marriage who return to a different ethnic area could have a particularly tense homecoming.

Peace offerings . . . residents of the former besieged city of Sarajevo jostle for Christmas gifts handed

war but forced to remain within The most complete (and in some ways reassuring) example of Ogata's proactive approach oc-curred in Cambodia in 1992. Following the Paris peace agreement of October 1991, Cambodia, like

graves and land mines. Yet UNHCR grasped the nettle and, by starting repatriation on a modest scale, was ultimately able to provide sufficient reassurance to encourage 360,000 Cambodian refugees to return home from Thai-

agency heads, Ogata's preference is for practical, and ideally, preventive

solutions. Ogata has urged govern

ments to endorse the "right to re

main" and "the right to return." Her

agency has assumed the burden of

assisting more than 5 million per-

sons who have been uprooted by

their countries' borders.

Dayton promises to take this one important step further. UNHCR insisted that an annex on refugees be added to the agreement. Sensibly enough, the first to be resettled when repatriation starts next spring will be the 1.3 million internally displaced Bosnians, on the argument that they are the most vulnerable They will be reassured — and hopefully protected — by 60,000 NATO troops and UNHCR repatriation

Yet the Dayton plan still makes huge assumptions. So much blood

Nor is it clear whether the recon struction plans currently under discussion for Bosnia will provide a lasting foundation for the safe reintegration of the returning refugees. Here the precedent of Cambodia

is discouraging. In spite of a mas-sive \$3 billion effort by the United Rwanda and Bosnia today, was a Nations and internationally superdark and brooding land of ghosts, vised elections, some of those who returned home have been displaced by fighting; others have failed to turn their repatriation grant into a lasting investment; more have probably stepped on land mines in 1995 than in 1992. But all this, sadly, is also the fate of Cambodians who

> If this casts a shadow over the Bosnian resettlement, it screams out a warning in distant Rwanda, which is viewed with nothing like the same urgency in Western capitals, Some 1.2 million Hutu refugees in Zaire were given until the end of 1995 to return home. The deadline is being quietly revised, but the threat of a massive push-back from Zaire early this year remains real.

This reveals an international community that is still groping, as it struggles to move from peacekeeping to reconstruction. The establishRwanda and the former Yugoslavia is an important start because it recognizes the aching need for justice in these countries where law was

It is now time to apply the same thinking to repatriation. The reintegration of refugees has been built into several recent peace plans, but there needs to be more consistency and clarity about the safeguards.

There will be no large-scale return of Hutu refugees to Rwanda in its present state; yet donors are unlikely to make a generous commitment to reconstruction unless they see refugees returning home. The best way to break this circle is to Rwanda, starting with reform of the justice system and punishment of war criminals. Outside the country, in the camps, UNHCR must be given room to create the initiatives that have become its hallmark under Ogata. This might start the process of returns on a manageable

Forcing the peace will do irreparable damage to UNHCR's core mandate — to defend asylum. Even worse, it could trigger a recurrence of the madness in Rwands. That this is even a remote possibility shows that we are still very close to the edge, for all the achievements of recent years.

lain Guest is a senior fellow at the Washington-based Refugee Policy Group. He served as the UNHCR spokesman in Cambodia in 1992.

Canadian and Chilean officials

are assuming no progress will be

made on expanding the tripartite:ac-

cord until 1997, after the elections.

Sen. Robert J. Dole, R-Kan., a presi-

#### **Action Urged** On Trade in Illegal Aliens

William Branigin

N A report to President Clinton, the smuggling of illegal allens to the United States has painted a grim picture of what it calls a "growing trade in human cargo" and recommended a more aggressive global effort to combat it.

The report, the result of a ninemonth study by officials of the State Department, Justice Department, nmigration and Naturalization Service (INS), Coast Guard, CIA and FBI, describes widespread official corruption and lax law enforcement several countries as facilitating the flow of hundreds of thousands of people through highly lucrative smuggling pipelines that often lead to the United States. A copy of the report, which was sent to the president in November, was obtained by The Washington Post.

"Viewed globally, trafficking in ilegal migrants is an enormous probem," the study says. "This growing trade in human cargo earns sumgglers billions of dollars in annual profits" and is "made possible by staggering levels of official corrup tion." The report recommends dealing with alien-smuggling "at its source, as well as in those transit countries through which migrants

are moved to the United States." Since alien-smuggling is a crime in only a few countries and penalties tend to be minimal, many trafficking organizations "operate with near imounity," the report says. In addition o being suborned by smugglers, it adds, authorities in some countries are reluctant to fight the trade because they view it as a "victimles:

Of particular concern lately has been the growth of Europe as "a najor gateway to the United States or illegal migration and alien smuggling," in part because of the reduc ion of border controls and the collapse of strong central authority n the former communist states, the report says. Up to 500,000 illegal iliens enter Western Europe each year, with a similar number waiting n states of Central Europe and the ormer Soviet Union, and many "will ventually attempt to illegally enter he United States," the report says.

In Central America, all seven of the region's countries have been used to funnel people north to the United States, often overland through Mexico. The annual amuggling traffic includes an estimated 100,000 people from outside the region and 200,000 to 300,000 Central

Americans, the report says. In China u has become highly organized and enormously profitable, trafficking gangs aucceed in moving up to 50,000 people a year to the United States at fees of up to \$35,000 each, the study says. Most arrive by commercial sircraft, typically in amail groups with fraudulent documents.

The report criticizes Talwan for "unsatisfactory" cooperation against alien smugglers. Despite repeated U.S. requests, Taiwan has failed to halt the use of its ships for smuggling and has not made alien-traf-ficking a crime, the report says.

#### Canadians Seek Closer Ties With Chile

Anne Swardson in Toronto ...

ANADA and Chile have anon nounced that they will begin bilateral negotiations to reach a free-trade accord, a move designed to fill the gap left when the U.S. Congress failed to approve efforts to include Chile in the North American Free Trade Agreement,

Canadian Trade Minister Roy MacLuren said: This agreement will provide a bridge to a full

NAFTA accession for Chile and will | ment in several ways. For one, Conbe folded into the NAFTA once the accession negotiations are eventually completed."

If the negotiations succeed. Canada will gain an advantage in South America's healthiest economy - especially if there are further delays in American participation in an expanded NAFTA, The bilateral talks are to begin this month.

The specter of the United States hung over last week's announce | for allowing Chile into NAFTA

Clinton administration had hoped would happen in 1995. The Mexican financial crisis, Republican concern about side agreements on labor and

the environment, and Democratic concern about possible job losses from free trade have served to undermine congressional enthusiasm

gress so far has not ratified stream-lined authority for negotiations to dential candidate, wants to go slow include Chile in NARTA, which the on free-trade expansion.

The discussions with Chile are just the latest effort that Prime Minister. Jean Chrétien has made to broaden Canada's trading networks. Last year, he led a 250-person trade delegation to six countries in Latin America and the Caribbean In Chile alone, some \$1.2 billion worth of deals were signed.

RESIDENT Boris Yeltsin appeared in public for the first time in two months after Christmas, stepping out onto the Kremlin grounds to assure a group of startled tourists that he will not permit Russia to turn backward despite the Communist victory in parliamentary elections last month.

Speaking on his first day back at work since he was hospitalized with a heart ailment on October 26, Yeltsin sounded like a man deter mined to beat back the Communist challenge. While he has not announced his intentions, it is widely assumed he will run in presidential elections in June - if he permits them to be held.

"We won't give anyone an oppor tunity to move backward," he said. looking reasonably healthy and sounding like his usual gruff self. "We've (had) enough experiments. The Russian people are fed up with experimenting. Russia's situation now is such that if it gets pushed

backward, there could be trouble." The remarks by the president, who says he will make his own political plans known in early February, suggested that he is feeling the heat of the presidential vote even though

it is more than five months off. He is already facing a daunting field of challengers, all of them heartened by Yeltsin's rock-bottom approval ratings and the lackluster showing of pro-government forces in the elections on December 17 for the Duma. Russia's lower house of

Even former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who has been flirting with a presidential bid for more than two years even though he is widely disliked, has been edging closer to an announcement. In a round of interviews last month, he

In Tyranny

**EDITORIAL** 

(WP)-BW = Jan . 7,96

ASTUDY commissioned by the U.N. Food and

Agriculture Organization esti-

mates that a half-million Iraqi

children have died because of

the international economic sauc-

tions in effect since the end of

added the malnutrition and dis-

ease affecting the many others,

children and adults, who are still

alive. It adds up to a second Gulf

war of historic proportions - a:

war whose immense civilian

casualties apparently fall most

conspicuously upon the young.

But that is not the sum of it.

war is not the extent of the casu-

alties, but that they are being in-

On one side, fully armed and

On the other, completely dis-

armed, are its citizens.

hinted broadly that what Russia needs is someone with vast political experience - someone, in fact, just

The more realistic candidates are the ones who did well in the Duma elections. Foremost among them are the Communists, who collected 22.3 percent of the parliamentary vote and can count on an army of loyal retirees to pull the lever for them again in June. Their likely presidential nominee is party leader Gennady Zyuganov, a stolid former bureaucrat who lacks charisma but

s now a proven vote-getter.
Ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky has also said he is running for president. Although his chances appear slim, he has been consisently underestimated by analysts and by polls, and his party managed to win more than 7 million votes, or 11.2 percent of the total, in the pariamentary ballot.

Alexander Lebed, a dour former army general, said last month that he too would run despite his party's dismal 4.3 percent share of the parliamentary vote. Lebed even hinted he would like to make a deal with the Communists, which might have looked appealing before he bombed in the legislative elections.

Lebed seemed popular before he turned to full-time politicking last fall. The more voters got to see of him, the less they liked him. Many Russians said they did not want a military man to hold power, no mater how much of a mess the country

Grigory Yavlinsky, a telegenic young reformer whose party won 6.9 percent of the parliamentary vote, has indicated he may run for president. His candidacy would be a particular threat to Yeltsin, as it could split the pro-reform vote and clear the way for a Communist or

Trade restrictions on Iraq per-mit the licensed entry of food,

medical supplies and humani-

tarian aid. The U.N. Security

"Anyway you look at it, Yeltsin's got big problems," a diplomat based here said. "He's got trouble from the Communists, trouble from the nationalists and trouble from his own camp in the person of Yavlin-

One question is whether Yeltsin will seek some pretext to cancel or postpone the elections, which some n his camp see as unwinnable.

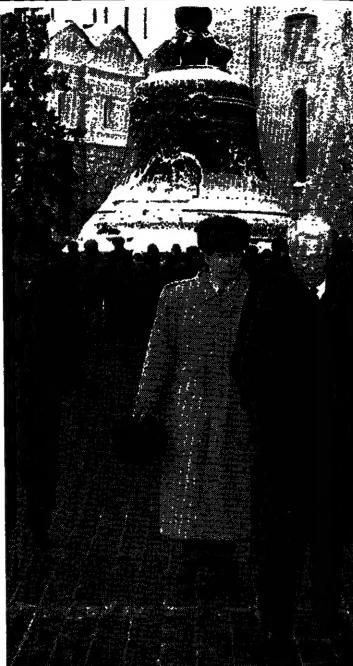
Another is whether Yeltsin will be physically able to run for reelection. He is an unhealthy 64-year-old man in a country where the average life expectacy for males is 57. He has been out of action for more than three of the last six months suffering from acute ischemia, a disease that restricts the flow of blood to the

After his last bout in October, he was able to speak only with difficulty. After spending a month in the hospital, he moved to a government rest home where he continued to resuperate for another month.

Meanwhile, for weeks before the parliamentary elections, the main candidates crisscrossed the country, some of them visiting dozens of cities and towns and giving scores of speeches and press conferences. Zyuganov and Zhirinovsky, the two most successful candidates, would have several appearances each on a given day, sometimes in different

By all indications, Yeltsin could hardly withstand such a schedule. He acknowledged as much himself, in very long working days now that he is back in his Kremlin office.

Noting that his travel schedule in ing months includes visits to China and Norway in March and April, he said: "I have to get stronger before the visit to China especially since there are plans to visit Shanghal as well as Beijing."



On his feet . . . Boris Yeltsin, flanked by bodyguards, strolls arount the Kremlin during his first day back after two months in hospital

#### **NASA Satellite Will Hunt for Black Holes** Iraq, a Study ners of the Guif War to have a heart for the children of the losers. But Saddam Hussein could instantly ease the plight of William Harwood at

N ASA launched a \$195 million astronomy satellite at the weekend to probe the enigmatic work-Council has offered Baghdad op-portunities to sell oil under ings of neutron stars, black holes and the hearts of galaxies at the edge of the known universe. Council supervision to pay for

Equipped with a trlo of high-tech such civilian needs, but President Hussein has refused, instruments, the X-ray Timing Explorer satellite also will record saying these plans would intell-tale radiation from titanic starfringe on Iraqi sovereignty. In short, it is entirely by his decision that a half-million Iraqi quakes, sun-destroying novas and other little understood stellar

Cape Canaveral

children, if that is the right num-The 6,700-pound spacecraft "will allow us to study better than ever The point is not simply to enbefore the physics that goes on near black holes and near the sur-faces of neutron stars," said Fred gage in a contest of words with the Iraqi dictator. His readiness to countenance mass death and suf-Lamb, a physicist at the University fering among his people provides the keenest available clue to his

thinking about his adversaries. bad weather and technical ing feature of this second Guif of Traqi children as a propaproblems, the long-awaited mission began at 8:48 a.m. last Saturday ganda display is the same man who, according to the indefatigawhen the satellite's Delta-2 rocketflicted in what amounts to an | ble U.N. commission that tracks blasted off from the Cape Canaveral Air Station.

undeclared and unequal civil his weapons-building, has never Seventy-eight minutes later, the stopped trying to gain the mili-XTE satellite was released from the tary means to avenge his Guiffully ready to apply its arms, is the regime of Saddam Hussein.

Any lingering Delta's second stage into a 360mile-high circular orbit. The space-craft's solar arrays unfolded Any lingering question of whether he would actually be normally and began providing ready to use weapons of terror Some good-hearted people in the West and some Arab and against foreigners dissolves against the reality of his continupower for initial checkout and ins-

trument activation. Islamic sympathizers can reguling murderous victimization of larly be heard calling on the win-If all goes well, scientific observations will begin in about a month.

ics called quasars. "The detection was the charm," said project man-ager Dale Schulz. "It's just down identification and study of black holes is one of the most fundamenright exciting. It was frustrating geting to this point, but it was well tal problems of physics and astron-

XIE's targets represent the final

stages of stellar evolution, when

stars have burned up all or most of

Stars remain stable by balancing

will collapse to the size of a planet,

More massive stars can explode

at the end of their lives, leaving

behind an ultra-dense high-gravity

or so across, the size of a small

can escape.

one million times that of Earth.

their nuclear fuel.

Since black holes cannot be seen directly, one of the best ways to study black holes is to observe what happens when matter falls

the inward pull of gravity with the outward push of radiation produced Matter falling toward black holes and other massive objects is accelby nuclear fusion. When a star's fuel erated by enormous gravitational is exhausted, gravity triumphs and forces. As particles collide, they get the star ultimately collapses. What happens at that point depends on hot enough to generate high-energy X-rays. It is that radiation, emitted in he blink of an eye, that XTE was

designed to study.

By monitoring how such emis sions change over time, scientists becoming a dim cinder, called a can gain insights into the nature and white dwarf, with a density roughly size of the region producing the

Nothing can travel faster light and for an object's X-ray emissions to change in less than one see neutron star - an object with the ond, for example, the region mass of nearly one million Earths producing the energy must be less shochorned into a sphere 10 miles than 186,000 miles — one light second — across.

The XTE satellite is capable of Larger stars can suffer a more bizarre fate: They collapse into the never-never state of a black hole, an detecting microsecond changes it radiation output. "With such object so dense that its gravity is of | capability we will probe the inner depths of the witch's cauldron of such strength that not even light matter swirling into black holes and onto neutron stars," said principal XTE's targets include suspected super-massive black holes lurking investigator Richard Rothschild

#### BRAZIL / The Washington Post 17

# Landless Peasants Score Political Gains

jority of the population.

ment, brought it unprecedented

media attention and produced a new

wave of recruits. Leaders who a

year ago would have been content if

Gabriel Escobar in Caruaru

CROSS from the neat path that leads to the Normandie 🔼 estate's imposing manor lies chaotic squatter campground whose unsure tents, which pass for nomes, are made of twigs and twine, plastic and paper.

Yet the camp gives the impression of permanence, since the squatters have been here for three years and have no intention of leaving. There is a reason for their per-

This camp is a home, but above all it is a political statement — a powerful one these days here in the northeastern state of Pernambuco and throughout Brazil — and the appearance of permanence is crucial to the struggle.
Throughout Brazil this past year,

in 90 or so settlements like this, thousands of peasants organized by the 15-year-old Landless Worker fovement have been turned into an adomitable and, in some cases, invincible army of occupation. Armed with picks and shovels and marshaled by the media-savvy national squadrons have fought off violent ittempts at evictions, suffered and inflicted casualties and in the process made land reform a surprisng national priority in a country in hich 1 percent of the population owns 45 percent of the privately

In his tent, where a yellow drinking cup and other homey touches hang from the ribs of twigs that miraculously hold the thing to-gether, 74-year-old Arlindo Francisco Versosa has constructed a bed that could well serve as a metaphor for the suddenly influential Landless Worker Movement. Like the re-markably solid bed, which is made of thin rope, slender branches and a few stubby limbs, the movement itself draws its strength from assembling the weakest and most plentiful element of rural Brazil: the landless

That simple formula is about t convert Versosa, a descendant of slaves, from foot soldier in the movement into unlikely conqueror. Any day now, Versosa and the ther squatters will receive legal right to the land they invaded three; years ago, a promise that has been made by none other than Brazil's president, Fernando Henrique

Until very recently, the struggle for land reform in Pernambuco, as in the rest of Brazil, had been uphill, with legal and legislative setbacks obscuring the few victories. But in 1995, the Landless Worker Movement dramatically increased its acivism across Brazil, aggressively occupying more land and, for the first time since the early 1960s, forcing the issue onto the national

Although other important factors are at work here, including a more vorable policy on land reform on the part of Cardoso, many agree hat the catalyst for the transformation has been the movement's intractable policy of occupation. The result, according to members of the movement, politicians and even organizations representing Brazil's powerful landowners, is the emergence of the first powerful rural voice since the rebellious Peasant Leagues of the 1950s.

Already some leaders of the movement, citing their growing political muscle and the support their

cause now receives in national opinion polls, predict they will have a the government met its land goals posed by the movement's activism, are now confidently demanding has made significant strides. tions, especially in a few areas "We are not going to work for the

where squatters now form the magoals of the government," said Jaime Amorin, the movement's state The peasant movement's aggrescoordinator for Pernambuco and a sive tactics have produced some of member of the national directorate. the most serious outbreaks of rural We are going to work for a big soviolence in years, including one cial movement, and beyond agrarian clash in the far-western state of Ronreform we are going to push for donia that left 11 peasants dead and other reforms."

Such bold talk reflects how far hundreds injured. But instead of tempering the activism, these clashes have energized the move-

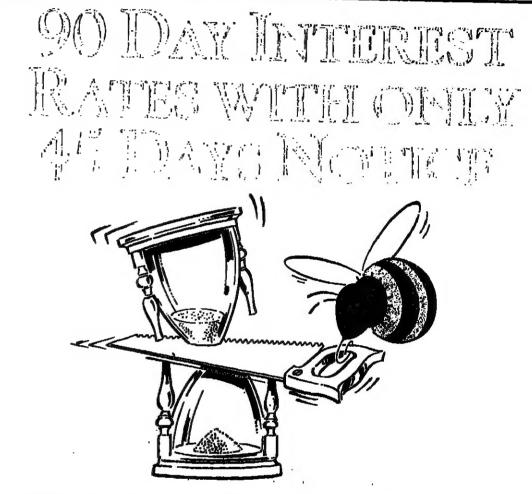
the movement has come. The number of squatters has risen this past year by almost 25 percent across Brazil, this during a period in which

Cardoso has promised to award land to 280,000 families before 1998. and despite a slow start, officials at the land reform office in Brasilia, the capital, say the target of 40,000 families for 1995 will be met Although the movement questions that figure, even if fewer families were settled it is still significant, considering land has been distributed to an average of 9,000 families

People on both sides of the landreform issue and other analysts cite a number of factors explaining this the government, responding to the social and political pressure im-

ported by the public has removed some of the political liability that comes with challenging landowners. The last time a Brazilian president moved aggressively to expropriate land was in the early 1960s, when João Goulart's decision to side with the Peasant Leagues helped bring on a coup that ushered in 21 years of military rule.

A number of important economic. social and political factors have helped the peasant movement. Brazil's agriculture is in crisis; the sugar industry, for example, has not recovered from the end of government subsidies. Brazil's conversion o a market-oriented economy has dramatically increased unemployment this year, and the migration is now urban to rural as workers return to the country for a life of



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The term of the first and the street of the

Will Hutton salutes the

legacy of James Meade

HE nineties are emerging as

bedded and inequality has risen to a

level incompatible with good society.

The recent falls in unemploy-

ment, although welcome, have de-

livered only a minor dent in what

remains a massive economic and social problem; 1996 will bring little

The often-repeated story is that

mass unemployment is essentially an act of God. The Government can

only take responsibility for main-taining "sound" public finances and

ensuring that no risks are run with

aflation. Unemployment is a labour

market problem — not a problem o

macro-economic policy. It must be

solved by lowering wages to a level

This has no logic - even in its

own terms. When employers are in

buyers' market, they have the

power to bid down wages - but

there must come a point, even in

this theory, when the labour market

starts to tighten as full employment

is approached. It becomes a sellers'

market and workers start to have

Those at the bottom who have

hitherto accepted pitiful wages

insist on rises that move them

closer to the average; those above

them attempt to maintain differen-

tials. Soon there is the wage/price

piral that has characterised nearly

In truth, the Government.

pledged to meet its inflation target, would act pre-emptively to deflate

the economy before the spiral got

under way. But the only way for that

to work is to run the economy be-

neath capacity with a reserve army

of unemployed; this empowers capi-

permits low wage inflation -- but it

s inefficient and morally offensive.

A policy that knowingly excludes

habita the same moral universe as

apartheid. Exclusion from work im-

plies exclusion from mainstream

society, which in turn means exclu-

sion from the political preoccupa-

tions of the majority. A democratic government that deliberately runs

ions from the world of work in-

il market economies.

market power.

that prices the jobless into work.

the decade in which mass un-

employment has become em-

radical and humane

NYONE who has sought to

A navigate the dark, uncharted alleyways of the Arab-Israeli conflict over the past decade has come to rely upon Israeli social scientist Meron Benvenisti for guidance. There are Israeli and Palestinian authors like Amos Oz, David Grossman, Arnos Elon and Edward Said who write with more stylistic flair or passion. But no one has analyzed the 100-year intercommunal struggle with Arabs and Jews for the narrow strip of famished soil between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean with more authority or consistent insight, and no one has more relentlessly skewered the conventional wisdom, than the iconoclastic Benvenisti.

Benvenisti has never fit in anyone's pigeonhole. As deputy mayor of Jerusalem, he served as Israel's proconsul to the Arabs of East Jerusalem, ruling with a fairness and unsentimental rectitude that eventually alienated his constituents, his boss (the legendary Mayor Teddy Kollek), and finally himself — he quit in disgust over the abiding inequities in the way the Arab sector of the city was treated. As founder and guiding spirit of the West Bank Data Project research group, he angered left- and right-wingers alike with his clear-eyed, brutally frank assessments of the depth and pace of Israeli domination in the occupied territories. Like most prophets, he was without honor in his own land.

But to foreign correspondents such as myself Benvenisti was in valuable. Although indisputably a Zionist, he was one of the few Israelis with the moral courage to put himself in Palestinian shoes. This was a pragmatic, not sentimental, feat. He still saw Palestinians as an enemy. Nonetheless, he believed passionately that it's only when you shed your illusions about who you are and begin to contemplate making peace.

In the prelude to the Palestinian ntifada in 1987. Benvenisti was one of the few to recognize and document the low-grade civilian war arising between Arabs and Jews. His small office charted the telling shift in the nature of the conflict: Whereas in the early years of the occupation, most Palestinian violence was committed by armed fighters infiltrating the territories from outside, the new unrest was committed by ordinary Palestinians, mostly young people lashing out with any weapon available - kitchen knives, hatchets and rocks.

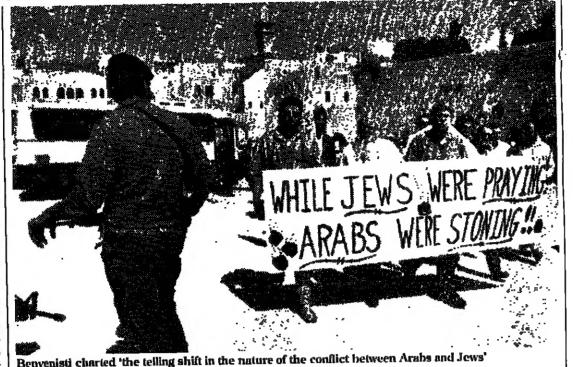
Even so, while Benvenisti understood the roots of the intifada and the damage it inflicted, he underestimated its power. He didn't recognize that an act of popular will could have such profound impact on the historical trends he had so meticulously documented. And so he was slow to shift his theories to accommodate the new reality.

Intimate Enemies rectifies that failure. In plain, muscular prose, Benvenisti explains the power and the pain of the intifada and discusses candidly where his own assessments sometimes went awry. And he sandwiches the book with two dramatic events that symbolize the opposite poles and opposite models for the conflict: the October 1990 killing of 19 Palestinian protestors by Israeli police atop Jerusalem's Temple Mount, and the September 1993 handshake on the White House lawn between Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and

Palestine Liberation Organization

President Yasser Arafat.

As always, Benvenisti is the supreme lab technician of the struggle, analyzing its hatreds, contradictions, sensitivities and primal urges. He captures the Israeli sense of valnerability, paranoia and arrogance and the Palestinian sense of failure, sorrow, humiliation and powerless ness. He captures, too, the paradox of the occupation: Israelis, although victorious, were denied the fruits of their triumph; Palestinians, although sullen and defeated, maintained a great communal vitality. He shows how neither side was prepared to acwho your enemy is that you can cept the legitimacy of the other -"each side dreamt of the other's dis-



appearance," he writes. And he illustrates his points with fistfuls of small but telling details: for example, the fact that the Israeli police officer responsible for maintaining order on

the Temple Mount did not even know the names of the Muslim spiritual leaders he dealt with. TT / HERE Benvenisti went wrong, he concedes in Inwrong, he concedes in In-timate Enemies, was in his almost romantic perception of the conflict. He says he did not see

> between left and right in Israel had grown stale and anachronistic, and now most Israelis - increasingly attracted by the temptations of bourgeois consumer society — became bored with the conflict and eager for a pragmatic solution. You can't maintain constant vigilance, spend at least 15 percent of your gross national product on defense and still have time and money to buy Japanese cars and electronics. When offered the possibility of "separation" - of walling off the Gaza Strip and West Bank and getting Palestinians out of sight and out of mind - mainstream Israelis responded with enthusiasm. "A desire for 'separation' prompted by hatred, boredom, alienation and weariness of violence

how the entire ideological debate

- not ideological commitment to peace - was the source of public support" for Yitzhak Rabin's peace deal, Benvenisti writes. Rabin and Arafat, in other words, weren't getting married on the White House lawn, they were getting divorced. As for the Palestinians, Ben-

venisti had always believed that their remorse and rage over losing their homeland would drive them to absolutism. "It did not occur to me that the Palestinians could reach such a state of weakness and go through a period of such desperation that they would recognize defeat," he concedes. Thus was the troubled road paved for the Oslo accords and the White House signing.

Although he derides their motives, Benvenisti concedes that Israelis gave up much in the Oslo negotiations: recognizing their archenemy and accepting the other side's symbols of legitimacy and, in effect, scrapping their longstanding perception of themselves as the sole legitimate community in the region, The 1993 document, he writes, "had redefined the enmity," transforming Israelis and Palestinians "from demonic foes into legitimate enemies, establishing a "marketplace" in which real negotiations could

and fell in love with her.

death at the age of 74.

Of course, Benvenisti is still not convinced that a true resolution is at hand. He fears that the deal is merely between clites, leaving the masses or both sides "still permeated with the old irrational disposition" — that th Temple Mount massacre embode the true nature of the conflict while the White House law signing is a mere episode. The quasi-colonial economic relationship between Israelis and Palestinians remains intact.

And the concept of physical separation is a pipedream, he believes. The constant terrorism against le raclis by Arab extremists prepared to blow passenger buses and them selves to paradise, and the constant humiliation of Palestinians remain the incurable, corrosive facts of Middle East life.

Resolution will come, he writes only when both sides understand "the simple fact that the two comm nities are doorned to live side by side forever, and that neither can destroy the other."

"Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation s still a dream," he concludes, but adds with rare touch of optimism "There is a place for that dream too.

Glenn Frankel is the former Jerusalem bureau chief for The Washington Post.

Unlike most pioneer women

the economy with high unemployment sets out to debar some of its and its contribution to raising out-put forever lost. It is that the whole

citizens from their economic and so-But unemployment is also the werriding source of waste and ineficiency. It is not merely that more han 9 per cent of the UK labour orce, by standard definitions, is idle economy moves into a low gear the job. Interest rates should remain work at wages acceptable in a Obituary, page 22

lowering the level of investment and the trend growth of the economy. Unemployment appears to be justified by low growth, which demands that wages be bid down even more to support employment. Poverty and social despair become widespread; eventually the state itself is

A Nobel vision of fair shares for all

The only way for those in power to escape the moral charge against them is to insist that their actions are involuntary. Unemployment is the unemployed's fault; not the policy-maker's.

from which it is impossible, un-

aided, to escape. Incomes, expendi-

ture and output are lowered, in turn

It is this mind-set that James Meade, one of only three Britons to win the Nobel prize for economics, spent his life contesting. Just before his death this Christmas he released a small book, Full Employment Regained? (Cambridg University Press) which, as he said was a digest of almost all he had talists in relation to workers and

thought and written on unemployment - with recommendations for "a rather startlingly radical reform of our present economic and financial procedures". This quietly ferocious attack on current orthodoxies was intended as his bequest; it deserves to be widely read.

Meade believed in the Keynesian

truth that governments have an obligation to organise interest rate and budgetary policy so as to offer a guarantee of steadily rising de-mand. Unemployment is exacerbated by poor skills, so training has to be improved; but he said training alone could not lower unemployment if the economy was depressed.

In short, he was an expansionist, with a preference for organising an economic boost via low interest rates rather than high budget deficits; and if the economy had to be slowed, use higher taxes to do

form of guaranteed basic income the tax system should underwrite paid to every adult, financed by the by sheltering savings and investabolition of personal tax allowances ment rather than consumption. He danued the current apcharge on the first slice of income proach, of trying to hit a future meaabove the basic income level. But

as low as possible for as long as pos-

sible, to boost investment - which

sure of consumer price inflation, as "torture"; any external shock which impacted on consumer prices whether a rise in import prices, a fall in the real exchange rate or a rise in indirect taxes - had to be compensated for by deflating the entire economy. He insisted that the correct target was the measure of economy-wide inflation - the GDP deflator - and urged that, if a gov ernment wanted to keep demand growing constantly, the right policy locus was the rate of economic growth adjusted by changes in prices across the whole economy -

B UT MEADE did not stop there. How was inflation to be kent down be kept down as the economy approached full employment if the government discarded a policy of pre-emptive deflation? The answer was two-fold. Meade hankered for a new bargain between capital and labour which would allow more vorkers to be hired - but capital to be protected from aggressive wage claims. He floated the idea of "discriminating labour-capital partner ships" in which newly hired workers receive a comparatively low wage, with top-up income from dividends on share certificates. Long-standing workers would have nore certificates and thus a higher ncome - and the starting wage for new workers would be lower, makng it easier for them to be recruited without damaging the interests of senior employees

In addition, Meade was not hopeful that the unskilled would get In Brief

APAN'S ministry of finance suffered a humiliating blow when its senior official, Kyosuke Shinozawa, resigned over a series of financial scandals that have undermined trust in banks, the ministry and the country's whole financial system. Opposition MPs called for his political master, finance minister Masayoshi Takemura, to go as well.

HE number of larger UK companies going bust rose in 1995 for the first time in three years, a survey shows. A total of 17,280 bigger firms went into liquidation — up 4.6 per cent on 1994 — says Dun & Bradstreet.

HE man who broke Barings, Nick Leeson, will not appeal against his six-and-a-half-year sentence in Singapore for fraud and forgery. Under Singaporean law, the judge can impose a

RITISH PETROLEUM is poised to sign a Saharan desert gas exploration deal with Algeria that could lead to a 83.5 billion project.

A IRBUS, the European plane-making consortium, is to share a \$2.7 billion order from Philippines Airlines (PAL) with Boeing, the US aircraft maker

LOYD'S List, the oldest international newspaper, was sold by the troubled Lloyd's insurance market to its management for £82.5 million.

NCYCLOPAEDIA Britannica has been sold to one of America's powerful banking families for as much as \$400

G EEST has sold its bananas business for almost \$230 million to a joint venture between arch-rival Fyffes and the Windward Islands.

RESSURE for Granada to raise its £3.4 billion offer for hotel group Forte intensified as Forte announced a £1.05 billion deal to sell its roadside cafés and budget hotels to Whithread.

The legacy of this self-avowed "old Keynesian" is that good society can coexist with capitalism. It is a CREDITORS of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International are set to share \$2 billion compensation.

> ROFITS at Goldman Sacha. house, soared to \$1.37 billion ast year.

HE lowest mortgage rates for 30 years and tax cuts have led bank and building society surveys to predict a housing market upturn in 1996.

A N ARAB shelkh bought the entire contents of a London furniture shop for £350,000 at the start of the January sales.

#### Victorian Passion in the Desert

Luree Miller

REBEL HEART The Scandalous Life of Jana Digby By Mary S. Lovell Norton, 384pp, \$25

DORTRAITS of the Regency L beauty Jane Digby bear a striking resemblance to Pamela Digby Harriman, the current U.S. ambassador to France and Jane's direct descendant. Even the two women's characters are imilar. Jane's biographer War Lovell declares: Both women display an abundance of "Intelligence and charm, an unselfconscious sexuality, a disregard of the mores that accept (even admire) polygamy in men but deprecate similar behaviour in women." Lovell's introductory assertion linking Jane Digby with Pamela Harriman to grab readers' attention also implies sympathy for the free-spirited Jane (1807-1881), who was born in the wrong century for the acceptance of her amorous adventures.

Jane Digby began life with everything going for her: breeding, beauty, brains and wealth.
She grew up in one of England's great houses, adored by her family, and was given the same education as her two brothers.

Jane was destined for great social success. At the age of 18 she married 35-year-old Lord Ellenborough, who proved to be a neglectful philanderer. But Jane tried to be a good wife, until a dashing Austrian diplomat critical Lord Ellenborough charged her with adultery. At 21 Jane was divorced, and all the doors of English society immedi-

ately slammed shut against her. Unrepentant, Jane followed her Austrian to Europe. "Being loved." she wrote, "is to me as the air I breathe." The search for a perfect love was the leitmotif of lane's life. When the Austrian liplomat failed her, she turned to King Ludwig I of Bavaria, then to a series of other lovers and husbands, reputedly 14 in all.

Sensational accounts of each new liaison emblazoned English newspapers. Particularly titillatng was her affair with an Ubanian bandit chief. But when Jane discovered that the chief was dallying with Eugenie, her devoted maid, she left him a curi note and sailed for Beirut with Eugenie. "Who can blame Jane." Lovell writes, "for concluding that, while men were relatively

> of maternal instincts. She kept with her only one of her six children, and he died at the age of 6. As her 50th birthday loomed, Jane lamented that she was once again "alone, quite alone." It was time, she reflected, to be done with men and the problems they had caused her throughout her life. At this juncture, as she was wending her way to Damascus, into Jane's life rode

easy to come by, a good maid was beyond price?" tion of Medjuel's tribe with her fearless mastery of both horses and camels. Age seemed not to diminish Jane's stamina for riding through the desert night, sometimes 14 hours in the saddle. For her 73rd birthday, Medjuel gave her a beautiful Arabian mare.

Respites from the austere desert life were always available n the imposing house and gardens that Jane built in Sheikh Medjuel ei Mezrab. Damascus. There she welcomed English visitors as well as Arab He was a desert prince, cultivated, courtly and multilingual. leaders and tribal groups.

He was in his late twenties when travelers, she had no geograph he looked upon the still beautiful cal goals or deep interests out Jane, some 20 years his senior, nide of herself. Unabashedly self-centered, she was intellige Uncharacteristically, it took her and fascinating but not an inspi some time to recognize his ardor. When she finally did, she ing trailiblazor lighting the way for followers. However, she di realized that at last she had impart her intimate knowleds found her perfect love. Medjuci of harems and Middle Eastern and Jone married and remained sexual practices to the famous devoted to each other until her Orientalist Richard Burton, wh shocked Europe with his inter-Accounts of the nomadic pretation of this esoteric infor-Bedouin desert life that Jane mation in The Perfumed Garden shared with her sheikh enliven and his translation of The the latter half of her biography. Arabian Nights. She won the respect and admira-

Many romantic mythe about Isabel Burton in her writing and by Lesley Blanch in her pol ular pre-feminist book The Wilder Shores Of Love. Fortunately, Mary Lovell stum

bled onto Jane's letters and diaries, which had been preser by her family. From these accounts, plus Lowell's own scrupulous research, she has \$ nally set the record straight about an amazing, accom and much maligned woman. Its a unique story well told.

## Amstrad abandons hope as chief logs off

Roger Cowe

THE end of Amstrad's traditional computer and electronics busineas, one of the great success stories of the eighties, was heralded as the group announced that its would leave after failing to revitalise flagging sales.

Amatrad will continue as a holding company for businesses it has Amstrad Consumer Electronics acquired over the past few years. (ACE). Existing Amstrad operations will be The company said it intended to

merged with these new sub- | reduce ACE's cost base "in line with sidiaries, leading to an unspecified number of redundancies among the workforce of over 1,000.

Mr Rogers was brought in 18 months ago to share the running of the group with founder Alan Sugar. executive. David Rogers, But he agreed to resign after the board abandoned his strategy of trying to build up the company's traditional business, which trades as

its sales potential". Director Michael Beckett in-

sisted the parting was not a consequence of any clash between Mr Rogers and Mr Sugar, adding that the search would begin for a replacement.

The departing chief executive had a three-year contract but under new rules on pay-offs he is expected to be paid little more than his annual salary of £225,000.

Mr Beckett said products would and leave the stock market.

still be sold under the Amstrad and, and the Amstrad Direct me order operation would continue.

In the eighties Amstrad could not sell computers fast enough. Ther consumers ran out of money, and the makers ran out of ideas for electronic goods that would tempt them in the kind of numbers which home computers once had.

civilised society. His solution is a

higher inheritance tax and a tax sur-

mischievously, Meade goes one

step further. He urges that the gov-

ernment aim for a budgetary sur-

plus and by investing the proceeds

gradually build up a national stock

of shares and public assets, the in-

come distributed as an additional

Meade acknowledges that his

whole scheme may seem an unreal-

istic dream - but better that than

the wasteland of modern capitalism.

Nor is it as impossible as it may

seem at first sight. The growing

consensus that British industry

needs more long-term, patient fi

nancial support is only another ver-

sion of a Meade-style bargain

Lower hurdle rates and longer-

term paybacks through recasting

City/industry relationships mean

that the cost of capital is lowered.

raising investment and thus the

marginal productivity of labour.

This is a different route to the

Meadean destination; it raises the

demand for labour at the prevailing

real money wage and so lowers un

Nor are Meade's obsession with

nequality for the birds. Meade's

proposals to raise revenue to f

nance his basic income are certainly

radical; my preference is more cau-

tious, instead deploying additional

tax revenues to protect the current

legacy we must keep alive; Jame Meade deserves no less.

between capital and labour.

social dividend.

The group's future now lies with the direct-sales computer company Viglen, the mobile phone company Dancall and other acquisitions made since the defeat of Mr Sugar's attempt to buy back his company



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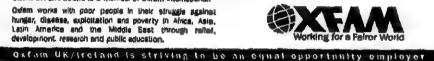
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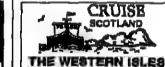
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### Economic force for good

James Meade

ITH the death of James Meade, Britain has lost its most outstanding economist -- the one who, by general consent, should have been first to win appointment to the Order of Merit. Meade, who was 88, had maintained a constant interest in ways of inproving the economic and social organisation of the country.

Throughout his career Meade addressed himself to the big issues: how to reduce unemployment, control inflation and maintain external balance, pursuing economic theory not as an end in itself but as a guide

In government during and after the war he showed a remarkable originality and versatility in his proposals. In academic life he gave form and system to a wide range of ideas in a long series of volumes on social and economic principles, bringing out the bearing of these principles on policy and avoiding controversy. In recognition of his work - particularly on international economics - he was awarded a Nobel Prize in 1977.

Born in Bath into a family distantly related to the General Meade who commanded the United States army in the American Civil War. James Meade went from Malvern College in 1926 to Oriel, Oxford, with a scholarship in classics. After two years he moved over to Politics, Philosophy and Economics, graduating with a first in 1930. He was elected to a fellowship at Hertford with freedom to spend his first year as a postgraduate student in economics. He accepted an invitation from Dennis Robertson, whom he already knew, to join him at Trinity, Cambridge, as student. There he became a member of the "Circus" that was reporting weekly to JM Keynes on the ideas emerging from | prevention of general unemploya group made up of Joan and Austen | ment. In 1942 he took advantage of

Robinson, Richard Kalın and Piero | the appointment of the Beveridge Sraffa while Keynes was making the transition from the theory outlined in The Treatise On Money (1930) to the more dynamic analysis of the General Theory Of Employment, Interest And Money (1936).

In his first published work, Public Works In Their International Aspect (1933), Meade dealt with the origins of a depression in terms not very different from Keynes three years later. He showed, like Keynes, how investment during a depression would automatically generate additional savings on the necessary scale by producing an expansion is employment and income.

Meade's year in Cambridge turned him into a disciple of Keynes at the beginning of his academic ca-reer and he remained under the inluence of Keynes ever afterwards. But he never went completely overboard in his acceptance of Keynes's ideas. From the 1970s onwards, for example, he urged that policy should aim at stabilising not the real level of national product but instead the monetary value (gnp) so that, if costs and prices rose, the level of unemployment would be allowed to increase. He also retained much of what he had learned from Dennis Robertson on the difficulty of keeping aggregate investment moving steadily upwards.

On his return to Oxford Meade remained for some years at Hertford, where he also served as bursar between 1934 and 1937. In 1936 he produced what served as the first modern textbook, An Introduction To Economic Analysis And Policy.

In April 1940 Meade was offered position in the War Cabinet of fices. His work on national income was only a small part of his wartime activity. He was particularly occupied with problems of post-war reconstruction, beginning in July 1941 with a paper on measures for the

Committee to submit later ideas of which the most important was his proposal to vary the national insurance contribution of employers with a view to encouraging employment in a shump and discouraging it in a boom. His ideas on postwar unemployment policy were further developed in a lengthy comment on Beveridge's Full Employment In A

> A second important initiative was Meade's proposal in 1942 for an international commercial union. This was intended to supplement Keynes's plan for a clearing union and led to extensive discussions between London and Washington with a view to the ultimate establishment of an international trade organisation. Meade took an active part in the discussions leading up to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt), of which he was as much as any man the originator.

Free Society which, as he pointed

out, had much in common with the

White Paper of 1944.

In 1947 Meade returned to academic life as Professor of Commerce at the London School of Economics, where he remained for the next 10 years. He began by writing Planning And The Price Mechanism (1948), arguing for the superiority of market mechanisms over government planning as instruments for the coordination of economic activity while accepting the need for planning of a more limited kind, making use of budgetary and financial policy but not seeking to accomplish through government action what private enterprise could do more

successfully. He then concentrated on the problems of the UK balance of payments and declared his intention of dedicating the next 18 years of his life to a six-volume study of the principles of international trade. Although the design was never completed he finished two magisterial volumes on The Theory Of In-



Meade . . . enthusiast, but never a dogmatist

ternational Policy (1951 and 1955). one dealing with the balance of payments and the other with the relationship between trade and welfare It was these volumes that laid the basis for the award of a Nobel Prize.

Meade was also occupied in the 1950s with the problems of economic ntegration. He produced three books on the subject as well as articles on Benefux and others on the United Kingdom and the European Common Market. But what attracted most attention at the time was his advocacy of floating exchange rates in 1955, at a time when that was still very much a minority view.

Meade was a man of principle and sought above all the principles that should guide a fair and prosperous society. He was a delightful colleague, full of ideas, modest, inventive, entertaining and full of good sense. He was an enthusiast, but never a dogmatist; clear-headed and lucid, systematic and rational.

Sir Alec Calmoross

James Meade, economist, born June 23, 1907; died Decembur 22,

#### A lesson to us all

Arthur Mee

ARTHUR MEE, who has died aged 89, was the man behind the 1960s revolution in school science curricula in Britain and the Commonwealth. As one of Her Maiesty's Inspectors and then senior science instructor in Scotland he organised radical new physics, chemistry and biology curricula and later introduced an entirely new approach to integrated science for the first two years of secondary school. These programmes were very successfully adapted in New Zeakınd, Hong Kong, Malaysia. southern Africa, Nigeria, Malta and the Caribbean.

"A J", as Mee was known friends and colleagues, was ab supported by talented young HMI nspectors. Ideas and practice were inderpinned by first-class teaching materials written by authors who were to become household names in school science. These ap proaches had to work for average teachers in typical schools with modest resources. AJ had a remark able ability to get people to work very hard without resorting to cajo ery. To his younger, sometime headstrong colleagues he was a calm father-figure who smoother their way through the education es tablishment.

His energy was compelling. Well after normal retirement age, he was promoting the Scottish science curricula abroad - for the British Council and similar agencies, I once met him, as publisher of Scottish material at Heinemann, at Heathro airport on his way to run a science workshop in the Caribbean, Lasked him to go, immediately on his return, to Nigeria to run a workshop for the local science teachers' asso a ciation, and produce materials for avnew, Scottish-based integrated sec

On the first day in Ibadan the pa ticipunts were looking forward to the usual talking shop. AJ polich but firmly concered this misapp hension. They were there to creak publishable toaterials. Each person find a topic and was asked to delect a section of . I to him within fo days for his comment and "revision" Ge, rewriting by A.D.

A fortnight later he returned will a complete course — papils' teds and teachers' guides — for a two year science ourse. The resulting books sold millions of copies through the Nigerian Science Teachers' A: viation.

Mee's Phy and Chemistry (1994) was a standa u textbook for first de gree course for three decide Forty years i we, he co-wrote a best selling text) : c series for Scottist integrated once. Educated Woodwich I Commie and Trials dge, he became a College, Ca school scier teacher, and bid head of science at Glasgow Acat emy, before heing appointed HAI's He was an active member of his

local Congregationalist Church His first wife died in 1985, and he survived by his second wife and the son and daughter of his firs marriage.

Hamish MacGibbon

Arthur James Mee, educationisi is science textbook author, from Mer 12, 1906; clied December 13, 199

### , Battle joined on Britain's streets

Ulster may be moving towards peace but the world's wars in exile are being waged in London. reports **Ed Vulliamv** 

SLAN AGANOGLU sat back in his chair: "London is warming up," he said. And he wasn't referring to the weather. Aganoglu — UK leader of the ultraright Turkish "Grey Wolves" — was more likely to be thinking about the Libyan murdered with a knife in Westbourne Grove. Or the stones thrown by Kurds against his own office in Stoke Newington. Or the Ealing-based Algerian extradited to France on a bombing charge. Or the execution of a Sikh newspaper editor in Southall. Or perhaps h was contemplating accusations that the Grey Wolves themselves had teamed up with the Turkish secret services to attack Kurds in Dalston.

All in all, you could be forgiven for thinking that the capital has become a mini-battlefield for the world's wars in exile, that behind the fumes of exotic cuisine, there is whiff of conspiracy, n-bellion and evenge from distant lands. The building next to the pet shop

d Newington Green seems an unlikely place to start investigating. This is the headquarters of the Turkish Islamic Association. Mehmet (no surname supplied), in black leather jerkin, answers the door (which has a tell-tale wiremesh coating to protect it). Melunet summons his mate Burak from the other side of the road to help with English. Yes: two years ago three kurdish firebombs were lobbed in: n November, 25 cars pulled up in Green Lanes from which "40 or 50 Kurds" emerged throwing rocks. A battle ensued. "We know who they are and we are their main targets," says Burak, "him and me espeially", gesturing to Mehmet.

Above Mehmet's desk is a flag eaturing a Grey Wolf howling at the rescent moon. The Grey Wolves are best known for a spate of assasmations in the 1970s and for the fact that Mehmet Ali Agca, who tried to shoot the Pope in 1982, was a member. Five "Wolves" have been entenced to death for murder by furkish courts since 1984.

Aslan is leader of the pack, chairan of the UK branch of the Grey Wolves. He has just moved his Mirabel Fashion Company Ltd into a warehouse overlooking the tire-less hive of New Street in Stepney. His deak stands unaccompanied in the bare space. He speaks erudite English. The Grey Wolves, he explains "were engaged in a bloody battle against the left in the 1970s: We know how to do these things. He is more content, however to discuss the handiwork of his opponents, the Kurdish PKK — Workers Party - which he claims runs protection rackets "with the aid of the British government and leftist councils". PKK has entrenched to such an extent, he says, that "the time" may come when we have to act

against them". The Halkavi Centre, Stoke Newington Road, is at the heart of what could be called Little Kurdistan. It has a membership of 4,000 Kurds 'Khilafah', they are arrested, while

Kurdish guerrillas winding through a mountainscape. There are portraits of the mercurial, scarlet-pimpernel Abdullah Ocalan, the PKK leader. Kurdish TV broadcasts from in the corner, through the steam of the kebab grill and strong coffee.

Nafiz Bostanci, director of the Halkavi, visited the Old Bailey last month for the trial of Cuneyt Sigdeniz, a Turkish Cypriot charged with attempting to murder Bostanci outside his shop in Kingsland Road the previous year. The bullet whizzed past my head — I heard it whistle." A second wounded his assistant, Ali. Bostanci blames the Turkish secret police, MIT, with a question mark over the Grey Wolves. The Grey Wolves call the attack a PKK "set-up".

Bostanci says that in 1994 a local policeman came to warn him of a Turkish plot to murder him in London. The police warning was fol-lowed by a visit to the Halkavi Centre by a Turk catled HY who said it was he who had tipped off the police, and was himself involved in the plot. HY said he was "under pressure from the MTT and the fascists" and there was "good money" in rubbing out Bostanci. He and the defendant, Sigdeniz, had been two of a trio, and HY had been arrested after a witness saw him giving a gun to "a black person". But the charge against HY of conspiracy to murder was dropped. Bostanci believes HY did a deal in the time-honoured tradition: exchanging his reportedly excellent contacts in the drug-running and immigrant-smuggling

rades for a clean slate from the law. The PKK, says Bostanci, does not engage in extortion, "although some Turkish left groups do that kind of thing". The PKK does, however, "punish snugglers of people". because they want Kurds to stay in Kurdistan. The Molotov bomb attacks against the Grey Wolves? Teenagers angry that their villages have been destroyed." And the British Telecom employee badly burned by one of them? "A mis-The faithful from across the

planet spill out of Regent's Park mosque after the most important prayers of the week each Friday unchtime. These days, they are confronted by stalls and platoons of eafleteers — invariably from the revolutionary movements, the feared and reviled Islamic underground. The most organised stall is run by Hizb ut-Tahrir, the Party of Liberation, an international movement dedicated to a global Islami state under Islamic law — Khilafah The group is vehemently opposed to Muslim "pragnutists" who would co-operate with secular or "evil" regimes — that is to say, all existing overnments, the British section was banned from campus activity by the National Union of Students after it posited that "the only place to meet Jews is on the battlefield by which, they insist, they meant in the West Bank and Israel, and not in places such as Tottenham, north London, where the group is based.

London confused as to whether they are the hunter or the prey. The British authorities are not sure which is more dangerous, the plot-Next to the Proteus petrol station ting exiles or the governments in Philip Road the group's exponent, against which they conspire. The Farid Kassim, acknowledges the irony that "in Saudi Arabia, if our British government", says Milad Hasadi of Jamma al Islamiya and a colleague of Abuzeid, "should members atter the 'Kh' of the word and 1,000 Turkish communists. In "in this country, which has time | the intelligence services of the Arab worry more about the activities of side is a mural featuring columns of lafter time tried to rupture the Is- embassies in London than the oppo- dard-issue leather homber jacket, is broken out in Ulster.



Casualty of war . . . Gurbux Singh Virk of Punjabi newspaper Des Pardes with a picture of his murdered editor

lamic workl, we work relatively | sition groups," Sure enough, last

behind. The killing was so crude

of the Muslim brotherhood.

month, diplomat Khalifa Bazelya, But when it comes to Islamic law, the nearest the Libyans have to an and jihad, holy war: "British law ambassador in London, was exmeans nothing to us," says Kassim. pelled for "activities incompatible a second-generation British-Iraqi with his diplomatic status" - the When I look at what is around me. usual code for terrorism or spying. it does not belong to the Anglo-Sax-ons or John Major, but to God. I am Whitehall said there was no direct connection to Lockerbie or the not obliged to obey British law." Abuzeid murder but no one on the Hizb ut-Tahrir has an "ideological" circuit believed it. core, not a military one, he says, Nadir, of the Algerian Islamic Sal-"but quite a few people come to us vation Front, fears the activities of from the jihad-type of environment". his own embassy more than those Until last month, passers-by on of the British police. He elects to their way to Portobello market may meet not at his home but at the barhave regarded Ali Mehmet rier of Ealing Broadway station, be-Abuzeid's shop as just another Queensway halal butcher. But before adjourning to a cate. Nadir was one of the men that Roger Le Loire, hind its now sealed facade, somea French examining judge investithing dark was at work. Abuzeid, a gating Algerian terrorism, was Libyan, was cut to death with a eager to interview on a recent visit knife, which the assassin, oddly, left to London. Scotland Yard passed on

that police sources suspect a politisaying he had not broken British cal motive. Abuzeid had converted to radical Islam and had always French authorities believe been a vocal opponent of Colonel Nadir's group is raising funds to Gadafy's regime. He had recently arm the Algerian mojahedin. But switched from the moderate Na-Nadir says his "brothers have all the tional Salvation Front to the more guns they need", that he collects militant Jamma al Islamiya, a branch money for their families, "because n Algeria people have five or six children, like the Irish". For this, HE same week, extradition Nadir knows that the Algerian secharges were filed by France cret police are keeping tabs on him. against an Algerian, Benouif The embassy refuses him a pass-Abdelkader, who was based in Ealport or travel document. Recently, a ing, west London, and had constranger filmed him distribution fessed to detonating 11 bombs leaflets outside a mosque, then folagainst French and Algerian govlowed him "from Baker Street to ernment targets. The combination Paddington". In all this, says Nadir. of the Libyan and Algerian cases "the British police are the referee, a leaves the revolutionary Islamists of good referee. We respect them."

Nadir's refusal to be introduced,

The Jihad, however, does have its foot soldiers in London. The Islamic lihad organisation is not a party or a movement, so much as "an attitude. or state of being", explains Abdullah H. He does add, however, that Isamic Jihad has a structure, and its leader, Ramadan Shallah, was educated at Durham university.

The rendezvous with Abdullah,

at the entrance to the ice rink and ten-pin bowling emporium off Bayswater Road. We walk through the bedsit-land of Paddington towards Edgware Road, "Little Arabia". Abdullah came from Egypt in 1986 to study petrochemical engineering in Aberdeen. He "joined" Islamic Jihad in 1991. "You do not really join, you make contacts. You are expected to protect your brothers within a network ... I respect those who are soldiers engaged in acts of worship when they attack." Does he "attack"? "I would not tell you if I did."

From the roof of the Sri Guru Singh sports hall, or the Glassy Junction pub, there is a good view of the entrance to Des Pardes newspaper office in Southall. It was probably from one of these vantage points that the sniper fired the bullet which early last year killed the paper's editor, Tarsem Singh Purewal.

At an unnoticed session of the fammersmith coroner's court last month. Purewal's death was decreed an "unlawful killing", making it the first recorded murder of a newspaper editor on British soil. Purewal was a leading exponent of Punjab (or "Khalistani") independence from India — and as such was popular in Southall's Sikh community, as well as being an acute irritant to the Indian government. Des Pardes had become the international pivot of the Punjab independence movement. Gurbux Singh Virk, his lifelong friend and deputy editor, now takes the helm. "I could die at any moment," he says calmly, "How do I know they will not come

B UT WHO are "they"? Virk has what he calls "two theories, which are linked!" its ries, which are linked". The first is, logically, the Indian government, which "has said that if it can cut off money from abroad, the agitation in the Punjab can be buried. The money comes from solidarity. Des Pardes is the centre of that soli-

The second theory is the International Sikh Youth Federation. At the coroner's hearing. Virk, under court privilege, accused the federation based in Smethwick, Birmingham - of a hand in the killing, after having received a phone call saying they had been involved.

Des Pardes had often published eccusations that the youth federaion was involved in massive embezzlement of millions of pounds of donations by worshippers at Sikh temples. A public feud had raged in print, with Des Pardes piling on what it called the evidence, and the Sikh Youth piling on the insults against Purewal - even after he had been murdered - along with its denials. Six members of the ISYF were detained by the police, all but one released. The view from Surinder Singh at ISYF headquarters is: "I don't know why people are using this question of the money to accuse us of killing the editor."

Kurdish Halkavi Centre, Nafiz Bostanci can celebrate the fact that Sigdeniz was sentenced last month to 13 years for his part in the attempt on his life. "He drove the car and he was at the scene," says Bostanci.

The evening is just getting into gear along the strip in "Little Kurdistan"; the scent from the cafes and bakeries is enticing. Nevertheless, there seems to be a good case for a pint over the road at McGrath's Cead Mile Failte free house, a favourite old Irish Republican haunt. On television. Bill Clinton is telling the crowds that peace has

#### Talent taken too easily

Dean Martin

A MERICAN vaudeville parlance had a word for Dean Martin, who has died of acute respiratory failure at the age of 78; he was a disappointment act. Traditionally. these were the people substituting for performers who failed to turn up in time for a show. Martin failed to substitute for himself.

His story is a show-business tragedy of epic proportions. Alas, it all makes the perfect script for one of those movies in which he starred - except that they usually had a not just a highly successful night happy ending. Dean Martin allowed himself to fall off the professional | made their first film together - My bar stool far too soon, and certainly far too often.

His origins were almost as much part of Hollywood clicke as his final | to Abbott and Costello. days. Dino Crocetti was born in Steubenville, Ohio to Italian parents. He left school at 14 and became a welterweight boxer, fighting under | movie called The Delicate Delinthe name of Kid Crochet - and only gave it up when his hands became mangled (as a result, he said, of poor binding under the gloves). He | the script at his "pardner" and their worked in a cigar store, and then as | relationship was over. a croupier in an illegal gambling joint, a job he gave up because his bands were on view too much.

to do that turned him into a singer, I deed, he left him for a screen career I the Martin story, his entry into December 25, 1995

copying Bing Crosby while working with a band in one of the gambling establishments where he had munaged to find employment. That experience also turned Dino Crocetti into Dean Martin.

It was in 1948 that things changed for him professionally. He was booked into the Glass Hat night club at the Belmont Plaza Hotel in New York. On the same bill was a young, zany comedian called Jerry Lewis. When Lewis moved on to Atlantic City, the idea of forming a double act came up and he remembered Martin. They soon developed club routine, but by the time they Friend Irma, in 1949, quickly followed by My Friend Irma Goes West — they had become the heirs

The bust in the Martin-Lewis relationship came in 1957, when Jerry branched out into production with a quent, He cast Dean as a New York policeman, with barely more than a handful of lines to say. Martin threw

Dean always said that joining Jerry Lewis was the most sensible thing he ever did. "The second most



Martin . . . re inebriation

on his own. In 1958, he amazed audiences with his part as a draft dodger-turned-hero in The Young Lions, based on the Irwin Shaw novel. One critic noted his beauti-

fully shaded performance. He followed that with a bittersweet role as a gambler who never removes his hat in Some Came Running, in which he co-starred with Shirley MacLaine and Frank Sinatra - an important event in his life be- | Dean Martin (Dino Crocetti), singer It was looking for something else sensible thing was leaving him." In- cause it marked the next stage in and actor, form June 17, 1917; died

Sinatra's "clan" or "rat pack". But before he got too involved with them, he made Rio Bravo, co-starring with John Wayne in what is now regarded as one of the finest Westerns of all time. It was certainly Dean Martin's finest role.

He did have it in him. Observers were waiting for the Dean Martin Oscar. Instead, he got more involved with the rat pack, appearing with them - Sinatra, Sammy Davis Jnr, Joey Bishop and Peter Lawford - in movies like Ocean's Eleven, Sergeants Three, Four For Texas, nd Robin And The Seven Hoods.

The man who had stunned critics and audiences alike as a solo performer seemed to enjoy playing sec-ond or third fiddle to Sinatra's 'chairman of the board".

Martin was more and more trading on his reputation for gentle ineriadon, neipeu c built-in sense of humour. Sammy Cahn wrote a series of highly appropriate lyrics for him, like "When You're Drinking, When You're Drinking, The Show Looks Good For You." Dean used to say on stage: "People say I drink too much, but I only drink moderately. In fact, I've a whole case of Moderately in my dressing room."

Michael Freedland

WHO FIRST realised the need for an international dateline, and what problems arose in its delineation?

THE NEED for an international dateline could have been recognised by any culture which knew the Earth was round, so the Greeks probably had some idea of it. But the oldest known reference is by Nicole Oresme, Bishop of Lisieux, in his Traitié de l'Espere of c1350. This describes three men, one circling the world eastward in 12 days, another westward in 12 days, and the third remaining at home. Oresme computes their effective day lengths. In his Quaestiones Supra Speram of c1355, Oresme says: "One ought to assign a definite place where a change of the name of the day would be made.'

The phenomenon of gaining or losing a day became a popular puz-zle question after Columbus's voyage. None the less, Magellan's crew were much perplexed when they got to Cape Verde in 1522 after three years at sea and a landing party was told: "It was Thursday, at which they were much amazed, for to us it was Wednesday, and we knew not how we had fallen into

The advent of railways and telegraphs led to the adoption of standard time, and then of time zones, from 1847, when the General Post Office adopted London Time throughout the UK. This culminated in 1883-1884 when the Rome and Washington Conferences adopted the Greenwich Prime Meridian and Greenwich Mean Time as international standards. This included the International Date Line as being at 180° east or west, with bends to separate US and Russian territory and to permit some South Pacific islands to have the same date as New Zealand.

Both the Philippines and Alaska crossed the Date Line. The Philippines had been colonised from the New World and hence were a day behind the adjacent Asian mainland, so they had to skip a day when they adjusted to the Asian week day. Alaska had been colonised from Russia, so it had both the Russian weekday and the Julian calendar. When purchased by the US convert to the Gregorian calendar, but then they were still a day ahead and had to have one eight-day week to harmonise with the rest of the New World. - David Singmaster,

ROVENCE: As very ama-

teur but enthusiastic ex-

Yorkshire bird watchers we were

northern Provence, covered with

vines, cherries, apricots, truffle

Numerous tits — blue, great and

coal - feed at the boxes together

with mixed flocks of gold, chaff,

serins, citrils and linnets peck

busily between the vines, scatter-

ing regularly in alarm. Thrushes

swoop silently in to roost in the

woods. A solitary stork wings its

way northwards. A Sardinian

and green finches. Siskins,

- song, mistle and rock -

Most birds are migratory.

would visit our little plateau in

intrigued to discover which birds

Peter Squibb

oaks and maquis.

A Country Diary

WAS recently beset by files from the moment I entered a local wood until I reached the other side, when they vanished. Were the same flies with me throughout, or do they work

F THE questioner's walk was in the summer it is likely the irritating flies were Hydrotaea irritans. the sheep headfly. These are a pest of sheep, cattle, deer and ramblers, causing irritation which can result in injury, thus providing a blood meal for the maturation of eggs.

They are attracted to animals by carbon dioxide and visual clues. They do not bite, but will make use of a puncture already made by a biting fly, such as a cleg or horsefly.

Unless the flies received their blood meal and flew away satiated, it is likely that they stayed to the other side of the wood. - Andy Berlyn, Penrith, Cumbria

OW LONG after the American Revolution and the War of 1812 did it take for Britain and the United States to become friends again?

THE distinction should first b made between friendship and alliance. The burning of the White House, and the Cotton Kings' support of the South in the Civil War still rankle in Washington. The Americans may have been our allies, to their profit, in two world and numerous minor wars this century but they are not necessarily our friends. — I S Bain, Stromness. Orkney

THE WORD "tragedy" originates from the Greek words tragos (goat) + oide (song). How did the modern meaning evolve?

I AVE YOU heard a goat sing? -Marcus Roome, Clapton, London

G REEK tragedies were known as "goat-songs" because the prize in Athenian tragedy competitions was a live goat. These contests were sacred to Dionysos, one of whose animal incarnations was the goat. — Susanna Roxman, Lund, Sweden

■ HAVE heard that if you go to the bottom of a very deep well and look at the sky you will see the star directly above, even in broad daylight. Is this true?

warbler has graced us with its se-

cretive presence for three late au-

inevitable robin. Chattering long-

Each spring the nearby wood

the evenings and sometimes the

replaced by skylarks who sing

every bit as beautifully as they

used to sing on the moors be-

In high, hot summer, birds

are rare; after mid-day groups of

iucent-rainbow-triangular wings

through the high or setting sun

searching for insects, filling the

tween Keighley and Halifax.

bee-eaters flash their trans-

tailed finches energetically

darts up a trunk, and a rare

hooppe flew over the road.

search the pines. A tree creeper

OME 20 years ago a cliff-fall at Birling Gap, near Eastbourne, revealed a well dug by the Beaker people to serve a defensive settlement. At first the sea eroded just the bottom section, so one could look up the 300ft well. And indeed the sky was dark and the stars were visible. Further cliff falls destroyed the well. - Roz Cullinan, London

■N ITALY a flasco is what you buy chianti in, so how did it acquire the English meaning which gets so much use nowadays?

THE WORD fiasco was first used and spread by the French writer Stendhal. The official etymology refers to the word "bottle" in a figurative meaning and is to be found in Italian actor's slang. The chapter "Des Fiasco" was removed from Stendhal's book De l'Amour but can be found in the 1853 edition. The reason for this was the sexual connotation of the Failure. - Stephanie Bully, Dijon, France

WOULD suggest that the consumption of a couple of fiascos would make this perfectly clear. - Patrick

IN ITALIAN a fiasco is a straw-covered round bottle. The figurative meaning — a flop, a failure — is also used in the Italian language, not just n English. Its origin can be traced back to the Venetian glass industry. f the glass-blower detects a flaw, i is called a fiasco, a common flask without pretences. — Dr Piero Giorgi, Brisbane, Australia

#### Any answers?

/HENCE came the V Christmas cracker and its fancy hats and silly riddles? — F Paul Taylor, Frodsham, Cheshire

\_/ AS there ever been a scienific study of astrology with regards to its ability or otherwise to define personal characteristice? - Guy Evans, Derby

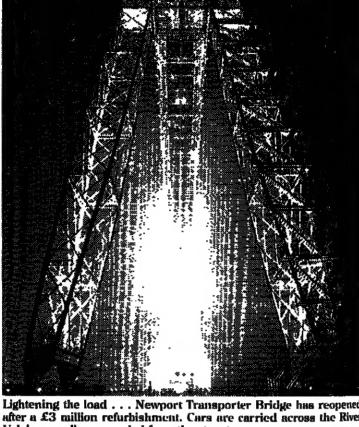
///HAT is it that makes a sone V V catchy? — Mike Levon, Wakefield, Yorkshire

Answers should be e-malled to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ

air with their hollow echoing warbles. At evening they com-pete with the swallows and mar-tins dissecting the sky. Several times in the burning afternoon short-eared eagle has hovered overhead dangling its talons. The residents are magpies, too

many of them, some wandering rooks and pigeons, frequently darting jays, and an occasional flapping heron from the river. An is full of nightingales enchanting owl nests each year in the nearby vood. Mewing, circling buzzards, singly, in pairs or family groups, mornings. When they go they are drift by and there are occasional visits by red or black kites.

Surprisingly we have never seen a sparrow, nor a blackbird nor a starling, though many roost in town. There are wrens but not as numerous as they were in Yorkshire where, one freezing night, we counted 13 crowding into a tiny nesting box.



after a £3 million refurbishment. Cars are carried across the River Usk in a cradle suspended from the structure PHOTOGRAPH JEFF MORGA

Letter from Brazil Mark Latham

#### All out for the season

come again to Brasilia. As in England this coincides with the start of rainy weather but, here in Brasilia, the season unfortunately has nothing to do with bat and ball. The cricket in question is the cicada, which is now making its presence felt everywhere in the city. Their noise is unbelievable.

Brasilia as a city is surprisingly noisy. Even our select suburb of Lago Sul has a lot of noise from traffic, aeropianes, dogs and, not least, people, so it took us a while, when we first arrived, to realise that a new noise was among us. I thought at first that a neighbour had installed a new kind of lawn sprinkler. This new "sprinkler", however, added a highpitched musical whistling at the end of each cycle, whee-oo, whee-oo, an enchanting ionovation which palled

It was not until the full orchestra joined in that we realised that these were no less than the soloists of Brasilia' a free summer concert. The orchestra consists of millions of cicadas. Some very large trees have a whole orchestra of their own, while nearby trees stand strangely silent. Some neighbourhoods are deafening; in others you seem to have

stepped through a sound-proof door. The basic rhythm is disappointing, simply scritch-scratch, scritch-scratch. The euphony comes from the way in which different trees harmonise with each other. rising and falling in intensity, a whole tree falling abruptly silent and then starting again, as one, at some secret signal,

The leitmotif comes from the soloists, individual cicadas who zens of Brasilia chose as their terristand out suddenly against the con- torial emblem the Lobo do Guara. tinuo with a magical range of trills, | native wolf in danger of extinction trolls and roundelays. Not, of A more representative syst course, to be mistaken for lawn | would be the vocal cicada.

THE CRICKET season has sprinklers or intruder alarms. Brasilia is a atrange city, created some 35 years ago in the middle of this vast country to be a new capital

inspiring development of the nerapidly to a population of about 2 million, with more people pouring in all the time in the search for em ployment. But Brasilia remains more capital than city. While having outgrown the "Cemetery for the Livng" obloquy, it remains different

Everything was planned from the outset. There would be designated areas for government offices, ac commodation, shopping centres even for hotels. Nothing would be allowed to exist outside its intended The problem is that it was really

designed to be admired by plan ners, rather than for people to live in. Obviously so, since even its architects don't live here. It is for cars, not pedestrians; everywhere is too far away to walk. Its main avenue, the Elxo Monumental, is in the Guinness Book of Records as the widest street in the world, 500m from one end to the other.

Luckily it is inhabited by Brazilians, the most lively of all people.
Their priority is to enjoy themselves. their world revolving around Carn val, football and either the beach of the churrasco, their barbecue. They have set about humanising Brasilia and undermining the mechanical functionalism. While they can, when required, be as industrious as the ant, their heart is obviously with the cricket, singing away its brief season

in the fickle aunshine. In a recent referendum, the citi

# Holloway: the grim inside story

Last month an inspection of Britain's largest prison for women was called off because of its appalling condition. A member of staff, who wishes to remain anonymous, reveals why to Melanie McFadyean

10am on Monday morning, there were 20 inspectors in the jail. The governor, Janet King, wasn't even here and the deputy, Mike Ainsworth, was busy doing interviews. The news that they had arrived whipped round the jail in two hours, but at first nobody knew the full implications. The inspectors went into every nook and cranny even into the store cupboards, toilets and unused rooms. They spoke to everybody - staff at all levels and prisoners, asking in-depth questions. It was soon clear that they vere not impressed.

They came across as a very intelligent, experienced, professional group of people who were in a state of shock by the time I saw them. By then they had seen the filth in this place, the piles of rubbish and food inder all the women's residential blocks, the left-over food the women are forced to throw out the windows through the bars.

They're locked up all the time. It's due to a lack of staff. All the women are supposed to get out every day. to work in the gardens, in education, or elsewhere in the prison; but now only essential workers get out. which basically means only the prisoners who work in the kitchens. Instead of eating their meals in the dining areas, the prisoners collect them and eat in their cells. They should get out an hour later to unload the trays, but there are many at Christmas, but this year none occasions when they don't get out !

T WAS a genuinely unan-nounced visit. Suddenly, at the unwanted food remains in the cell until the next day. Prisoners throw it out of the windows to minimise the smell. There are some days when, owing to staff shortages, they don't even get out to collect their lunch — it is pushed into their cells through the hatch.

The prison service used to say that prisoners should maintain contact with outside agencies such as probation officers and people in education and training, but now they don't. There used to be about 20 women here going out to college; now there are none. If anybody does have to go out they are handcuffed. I went on a long journey recently

with perfectly safe prisoners who were in handcuffs all the time. When they went to the toilet you were allowed to unlock their hands but had to stand outside the door. An eightmonth pregnant prisoner soiled her mattress recently and had to change it and move it herself. She slipped a disc doing so and was taken to hose pital in handcuffs. A few weeks ago, a prisoner who had just come in and was known to be a suicide risk stuffed tissues up her nose and into her mouth and killed herself.

I'm not saying that that sort of thing doesn't happen anyway in jails, but one wonders whether if there had been more staff to supervise she would have been safer. Mothers with babies used to be given temporary leave to go home

where; you hear them crawling about at night. The inspectors were out one night with cameras, pre-sumably taking pictures of the bugs and the rats in the rubbish. I've often seen the rats - they're the size of cats and scuttle around in the drains and the holes made by building work. Every day as you walk into the building you see rat droppings inside and outside. You can't blame the staff at any

level — all they're doing is responding to Home Office policy, rules and regulations. Michael Howard [the Home Secretary] wants to make security the number one issue but that means other things suffer. If you have to spend more time doing urine testing, room- and stripsearching with the same or a reduced number of staff, then something else has to go. There are now 200 more women in the prison than there were three years ago and we have a smaller budget. Of course agree with the need for security in a jail, but more searches haven't improved anything - it's no secret that there is still a big drug problem

HE notion of dynamic security talked about in the Woolf report - that all people working in a prison should enjoy good relations for security to be effective - is out of the window; the staff don't have time. If prisoners are locked up 23 hours a day without a chance to wash, work or have any meaningful activity, they get very, very angry, which means the place is less secure anyway. This jail is usually simmering with anger. Its smooth running depends to some extent on prisoners warning staff of likely dangers or problems — but

There are cockroaches every- that only happens if relationships are trusting and have a chance to develop. Now we hear that the governor has been asked to say how she would cut the already low bud get by another 15 per cent.

Men in jail get depressed and then blow, but women prisoners withdraw and turn on themselves. There's a lot more cutting up than there used to be, and both staff and prisoners are withdrawn. One of my colleagues left recently, even though she had no job to go to, because she couldn't stand it any longer; she cared about the women but wasn't able to look after them properly. A lot are trying to get transfers — but it's not just Holoway, all the jails are like this.

The medical department wil come in for quite a lot of criticism I should imagine. Recently a diabetic prisoner went to get a needle and was told by medical staff that they couldn't find a new one, but that the one they had was probably the one she had used herself anyway that The medical department has very

low morale — there are problems with its management structure. which again is the prison service's fault, and it is hugely overspent because there are so many more paychiatric cases - people who have been let down by care in the community programmes. The officers in the psychiatric wing are stretched beyond their limits.

The officers have had a system for years whereby they weren't paid for overtime but got time off in lieu. They aren't supposed to work more than 50 hours without getting that time back - it's called toil - but there are officers with 200 hours of toil docked up which, because of officers who would never let the women down. So when you hear the phrase "overzealous, heavy-handed security", it's not our security that's overzealous and heavy-handed, it's the Home Secretary's.

This inspection is the best thing that's happened in this prison since I can remember. Until then we felt nobody cared about the rats and the lock-ups, and we believed that the Government was doing nothing because it was what they wanted after all prisons minister Ann Widdecombe said they'd known about conditions in Holloway since July. It's all part of the general picture the collapse of the NHS, of education, of transport - everything's falling apart.

I'd like to invite the Home Secretary in here for a night. Let him stay in a cell with a cockroach and a rat and wait to get out for a wash in the morning to find there's nobody to unlock your door so you can't. And then, if he is unlocked to go to work, he has the choice of missing work and losing his pay or getting a chance to have a shower.

If you treat people like animals. what can you expect? They will reoffend, I walk around this jail and. where once I saw all the prisoners out of the rooms on their daily "freeflow" - doing hairdressing. going to the gynt, to education, to the gardens cleaning the wings, seeing their probation officers - 1000 the corridors are silent. It's all gone to tack and run. I often hear the sounds or distress, of cryme and , hustration. It's like gome down a time tunnel into the Middle Age.

Every day when you walk in you see the statement outside which tells you your duty is "to look after ; the prisoner with humanity and help them lead law-abiding and useful lives in custody and on their release". I could say something mild like fat chance, but frankly I look at shortages, they can't take. I know I it and think what a load of bollocks.

#### It's the meal thing

Let's do lunch? Darling, I thought you'd never ask. Jonathan Freedland on an American dating agency with a difference

E LOOKS like Kevin Costner, she's the All-American Girl. He has Gorgeous Blue Eyes, she is Very Athletic. He is a Good Listener, she's Super Cute. And now they're about to have lunch.

Of course, they've never met, never spoken, never seen each other's photograph. All they have to go on are those tantalising nuggets of info from the dating agency that fixed them up. They only know the other's first name.

Still, they insist, they're not nervous. John, 27, says he meets new and Dessert. They have a built-in ing computer know-how. Rachelle, turn into the longest night of your 26, says the fact that she bought new shoes hours before the date less pressure — and no expectation means nothing.

John and Rachelle are meeting

matchmaking service that seeks to | claim an urgent meeting and you're | light dressing: it seems "finnicky take the blind panic out of blind back in the office. If you like what and neurotic. Women say they like dates. In a country in which No | you see, "exchange cards" and meet | a hearty appetite: "I want to see a Commitment is a sales pitch, the again. You don't have to think about agency seeks to lure and reassure what you wear, just stick with work guy!" Bad table manners have been the US state department official potential clients all at the same time. oldthes. For women, it's safer than cited more than once as the reason who cancelled a date because of the Can't face the emotional investment | arranging to meet a stranger in a | for no second encounter. of dinner? "It's just lunch," says darkened bar. Nancy Kirsch, who has just set up | So far, It's Just Lunch have some thought. He will avoid pasta, is all they can spare. So they tell | Dinner.



shop in Washington, DC. "It's like, | arranged 21,000 lunches in Chicago, everybody take a chill pill; you're not going down the aisle."

dating," promises the agency bumph, corporate motto: Life, Love ople all the time for his job, sell- time constraint. A blind date can life, but lunch is safe, with much of a goodnight kiss."

New York and Washington, at a cost to the client of \$600 for eight dates, \*Lunchtime dates are less intimi- They claim a 75 per cent success rate: (measured by the number of second dates) and boast of 100 marriages and several births -- proof that it's not always just lunch. There are dangers, however,

Kirsch urges her clients to stay away from spinach (it gets stuck in your teeth) and Mexican food (you John and Rachelle are meeting courtesy of It's Just Lunch, the don't get on, it's only an hour. Just like women who order a salad with

something small, so he is free to talk without a huge hunk of food growing cold in front of him. Rachelle, who circled skiing, fitness and social drinking on her list of interests, will avoid barbecue ribs or anything "you have to pick up with your fingers and end up smearing all over your face". She will not be ordering salad.

They don't know it yet, but they already have much in common. Both have worked so hard, they've let their social lives slip. Suddenly a lot of their friends are married, and they're running out of friends of friends to meet. Now that I've achieved all my career goals, I'm ready for a serious relationship, Rachelle says. "My ultimate goal is a long-term relationship," John says. Both say the bar scene is not for them. "It's brutal," John says.

Nancy Kirsch has sympathy. She tends to a flock of singles who have lost their way. "I think people are so know where to go any more."

The workplace used to be a reliable mating ground, but fear of an accusation of sexual harassment has made it out of bounds, especially in a politically hyper-con-scious town like Washington. This whole PO thing," Kirsch sighs. "No one can even say: Hello, you look

outbreak of a foreign war. But most

"as you usually end up knocking it all over yourself". He will go for a seminar on US budget policy and a seminar on US budget policy and sneak into the It's Just Lunch HQ in downtown Washington. They fill out a questionnaire - appearance, ethnicity, attitude to children - have their picture taken and are interviewed by either Kirsch or partner Sharon Stevenson.

Applicants are sometimes rejected, like the man over 50 who wanted nobody over 30. He was told that times have changed. "Women these days are looking for a partner, not a meal ticket," Kirsch declares. Besides, most women are making their own money." In that spirit, It's Just Lunch requires couples to split the bill, to avoid macho gestures and unseemly wrestling over the tip.

IRSCH and Stevenson tolerate men who come clean and say It's Just Looks. But if his height-toweight ratio is dodgy, he shouldn't expect Cindy Crawford. Women are more forgiving about weight, although they have demands, too. They like tall and they want hair, Kirsch says.

John and Rachelle were put to gether in a matching session, in which Kirsch and Stevenson sat on the floor poring over their forms and linked Slim and Athletic with Loves Kids. No computers allowed. John couldn't have been happier. Meeting Rachelle left him with a

spring in his step, "smiling all day". Rachelle liked him back, although Kevin Costner isn't really her type. She prefers the JFK Jnr look. Still, they've arranged a second date. John and Rachelle have given this feel an hour in the middle of the day This time — ylkes! — It's Actually **CHRISTMAS TELEVISION** Nancy Banks-Smith

/HAT I want to know is what happened to the turkey? Pat had just bunged the big bird - there was a troubling family resemblance - into the oven when her longlost husband, Frank, arrived back unexpectedly from the loony bin saying he had had a nervous breakdown. This turn of events was mercifully hidden from Arfer, who is having his own nervous breakdown in jail. (They try to look on the bright side in Wormwood Scrubs, and find Arfer depressing: "Miserable sod, ha, hal")

The traditional East Enders ding-dong was prolonged and acrimonious. Frank was frank ("I'm finding it 'ard not to 'ang one on your chin!") and everyone forgot the turkey. Oh God, i

must still be there at gas mark 6 Coronation Street was remurkable for being beautifully written by Julian Roache. Steve, of course, was arrested but when isn't he? The unique thing was Curly and Raquel's duct

Shoot

to thrill

Michael Billington

about the real uses of handker-chiefs. "Handkerchiefs are for keeping things in that you took off summat else that you meant to fix and you can't remember where it came from in the first place. Handkerchiefs are what your mam used to grab and spit nto and scrub your face with when you'd been a mucky pup. Handkerchiefs are for polishing your glasses so you can see just how gorgeous your missus really

The chiming repetitions sounded for a moment like "On such a night as this . . . " from The Merchant Of Venice, Not many soaps remind you of Shakespeare. By the way, Christianity was mentioned Now there's a first.

The thing I enjoyed most - it

was the element of surprise was Treasure Island, Would you seriously expect much from Ken Russell frolic starring his wife? This was a yo-ho-ho and let's-do-the-show-right-here panto. It was something between the Good Old Days and Terrible Old Jokes. There were seven pirates, each a visible health hazard, a Ben Gunn who sounded

disturbingly like Irene Handl, and the wife was just wonderful. Hetty Baynes played Long Jane Silver like every blonde who ever sent blondeness up like a

Her "Happy Birthday To You" a Marilyn Monroe spoof, in a thread-thin voice like a spider spinning silk, drew you in with a single hair. I bet it's a party piece. I bet they are good par-

Christmas television is seldom surprising. Nor, for adults, is Christmas. The press weren't allowed to see One Foot in the Grave because, it was hinted, Victor Meldrew might die. He didn't, despite the best efforts of Melvin, a psychopath, and Edwin, a bird-eating spider. It's a fine series with a slightly uncertain future, though there seems plenty of mileage left in a man raging against the dying of

Its ratings will have nibbled at the cheese on the other channel, The Abbey with Alan Bennett. His mum would be pleased to see the medieval history come useful at last. Bennett drifts around like a cloud in brown

boots, contemplating the Coronation Chair (and added lions) with a nice line in irony. They needn't have bothered. The monarchy nowadays is so anxious not to be remote they

could have dispensed with the lions and just put it on rockers." (You are distracted with the

thought that a rocking chair would buck up the Queen's proadcast nicely.) Tourists mill around Vestminster Abbey as if waiting for trains which have been can-

> tion announcer with care. If I can't have Betjeman (and I can't) or Bennett then I'd like Belinda. an elegant lady waiting to see a wreath laid on Tennyson's grave and passing the time by passing adgment on the other poets. "Gerard Manley Hopkins . . . he was practically mad wasn't he? Henry James, totally mad at the end . . . thought he was Napoleon. Auden . . ." She lowered her clear, carrying voice. Auden, it was clear, could have given several batters a head

celled. You have to pick your sta-

#### Reinventing the classics

OBITUARY

Shura Cherkassky

S HURA CHERKASSKY, who had died aged 86, was often de scribed as the last Romantic piants the standard-bearer of a virtuos tradition which was essentially Russian and East European, H wasn't the first and won't be the last to be described in that way, yet for once the platitude - that he was unique and specially loved by his audiences — rings true.

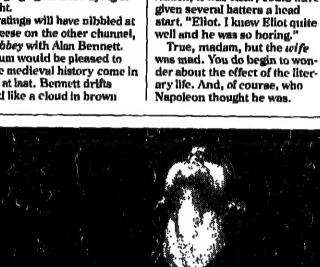
Cherkassky was born in Odessa, the only child of professional par-

He made his debut in Baltimore

Cherkassky's technical proves has often been remarked on, yel while he frequently played flamboy ant works like Liszt's B minor Sonata and Hungarian Rhapsodies he always seemed to play well within his capacity, never forcing his tone or trying to impress with noisy feats of athleticism. His sound had a sumptuous, cushioned quality. Melodies floated and details in inner parts would surface unex

recording in a studio, yet he couple of years off his age) was

October 7, 1909; died December



HE MOST intriguing feature of Trainspatting, the tryine Welsh novel adapted and directed by Harry Gibson at London's Ambassadors Theatre, is the audience: young, nattily clad and audibly enjoying this cult story of Edinburgh low-life. Not having read Welsh's movel, I

come to Gibson's version totally fresh, knowing only that it described the squalor and pain of the Edinburgh drug scene with a mixture of graphic realism and wild comedy. But, although we witness the agony of hero Mark's coldturkey withdrawal from heroin addiction, the helpless dependence of his chum Tommy and the tragic cotdeath of the baby of the equally addicted Alison, we learn almost nothing about the origins or the economics of the Edinburgh drug scene. Welsh and Gibson deal in consequences rather than in causes, Social ills have social causes and the play never explains why Edinburgh has a higher proportion of drug addicts and HIV cases than any other

Without that vital socio-political context what you get is a series of disjointed scenes and scatalogical set-pieces. I don't deny the linguistic virtuosity of the endless variations on skag and shag, shite and puke, but even that eventually begins to pall. Mark's opening description of trying to sneak out of his girlfriend's house with messed bedsheets is the foul-mouthed nineties equivalent of the cigarette-in-the-bedclothes scene in Lucky Jim. But by the time we get to a waitress's description of aventomers by putting a used tampon in desire to shock the grown-ups. | Simon Russell Beale and Adrian | windowed, transparent, conserva-It is the tone of the stage version Scarborough is as exuberantly

Smack in the arm . . . drug-taking graphically depicted in Trainspotting

that worries me. And, if I found myself unable to join in the general hilarity, it was not so much out of physical as moral queasiness. The characters and their desperate plight demanded social exploration and compassionate understanding. but what I heard was an easy, selfgratifying laughter that accepted the inevitability of their situation. But, although I'm clearly in a minorverve and that Mark Ireland, Peter Ireland, Gavin Marshall and

Michelle Gomez play it with unnerving conviction. Nearly 30 years after its premiere, which made Stoppard fa-mous overnight, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead is back at the National Theatre. And, even ging herself on snotty-nosed cus- ) though 1 still feel that it over-

funny as any I have seen.

My doubts about the play are twofold. Stoppard, by focusing on a pair of attendant figures caught up in incomprehensible events at Elsinore, flies against the Shakespearean textual evidence that they are ex-friends of Hamlet specifically hired to spy on him. More seriously, while treating them as symbols of ity of one, I admit that Gibson's pro- in a meaningless universe with duction — the third already of what | death as the only exit, Stoppard also is clearly a cult phenomenon — has | makes them remorselessly self-con | and cordurous like some intellectual scious: I would feel more sympathy with their predicament if they them-

selves did not so endlessly define it. Francis's production answers that dwelling on the speed and verve of crantz is a likeable mutt who can the cross-talk; by highlighting the never quite keep up with his Socratic play's variety of texture; and by friend: the one thing they share is a nore as a place of dark impenetrabil- Howard, in Caroline spaniel-like extends a brilliant initial conceit, I ity. In Lez Brotherston's highly black wig, also lends the Player King

tory-style structure behind which the torchit politics of Hamlet proceed. It both creates a sense of two worlds and gives the play itself a physical lightness I've rarely known t to possess.

But it is the acting which is the evening's chief delight. And again Francis pushes to the limit the contrast between the ratiocinative Guildenstern and the slower-witted who simply gets better all the time, plays the former in college scarf high-flier lumbered with a fidus Achates.

PHOTOGRAPH: GERAINT LEWIS

Meanwhile Adrian Scarborough, with beaky profile and close-cropped objection in several ways: by hair, touchingly suggests Rosendemolishing the stock image of Elsi- keen apprehension of death. Alan the tomato soup, it seems that youth-ful anarchy has simply turned into cis's Lyttelton production with find themselves surrounded by a teur and moral seediness.

ents: his father was a dentist, his mother a pianist. He was first taught by his mother, and after the family emigrated to the United States i 1923 had lessons with the great Pollsh-born pianist Josef Holmann, who had been a pupil of the leg-endary Anton Rubinstein. Hofmann encouraged Cherkassky to give public recitals while still studying, which accounts, possibly, for Cherkassky's insatiable appetite for public appearances in later life. I his eighties he was still giving up to nine concerts a month on several continents. He loved travelling and the concert platform was his ele

in 1923 and foured Australia, New Zenland and South Africa five years later, followed by concerts in France and England.

The turning point came just after the second world war when he accepted a date in Hamburg and was compared to Horowitz and Rachmaninov. His European reputation grew, and he made his base in Nice Gradually he became well known i Britain and from his late fifties be rented a suite in the White House residential hotel near Regent's Park in London. "I prefer room service he said.

Though Cherkassky was never reer flourished, conductors found him disconcerting because his la terpretations were unpredictable He admitted he would play one way in rehenrsal, then do things quite differently in the concert. Spontage ity was the key to his fascination as

Cherkassky was not fond of warmed to Numbus's policy of takes, and his discography is substantial and representative of his entire range. His 80th birthday recital in Carnegie Hall (in reality his 82nd as for a long time he had knocked a recorded live by Decca, which in 1994 and 1995 also brought out eight CDs of his other recitals; a ninth CD is due out this year.

### The unbearable Dutchness of being

**Ed Vulliamy** on the first exhibition of Vermeer's paintings for 300 years

**I OHANNES VERMEER** holds an inimitable place among painters. He commands an almost obsessive affection, from chocolate-box-tops to the deepest crannies of academe. He paints scenes from everyday life composed with disarming intimacy, which have become as familiar as the work of Van Gogh or Leonardo. Vermeer captures episodes that echo those in our own lives of which we are burely aware, but which, in these paintings, are sublimated and made poetic.

And yet, in Vermeer, things are rarely as they seem. Proust called him "the forever unknown". The first historian to establish his fume outside Holland, Theophile Thore, described him as the "Sphynx" among artists. Stylistically, he defies definition. His technical mastery baffles and jutriques. And perhaps most remarkable of all, this enigmatic fame derives from a minimal ocurre of only 31 existing paintings, plus five contested attributions. They cover a narrow range of subject matter and most are very small in size.

The mystique becomes a universal query on the cool but passionate gaze from Girl With A Pearl Earring: what did Vermeer really paint,

For 300 years it has been impossible to try to answer these questions without crossing frontiers and continents to visit Vermeer's few and scattered paintings. The last thme a significant number of his works were assembled was for a posthumous auction in Amsterdam in 1696, when 21 were gathered for sale. But now the same number have been brought logether by the Washington National Gallery for the first Vermeer exhibition, which comes home to The Hague in March, on the tercentenary of the Amsterdam auction.

The project has been propelled by one man, Arthur Wheelock, the Washington gallery's curator for ler described as "Mr Vermeer". Wheelock has worked since 1988 to show's opening he displays the neryous excitement of a man whose wife is going into labour. The pivotal View Of Delft, from The Hague, was deemed unfit to travel, and released only after a special conference by experts from five countries. The exhibition only happened because insurance is underwritten by the overnment in America.

One of the most adventurous ar rivals is the Lady Writing A Letter With Her Maid, from Dublin, just two years back from a seven-year excursion through the terrorist and drugnificking underworlds.

Vermeer's life is as opaque to the learn from his widow's deposition - space. nothing of his own. He had lapsed Then there is the matter of illuto . . . decay and decadence".

and politician Thore, who, during the 1850s, stumbled upon the View Of Delft (which had gone on public display 30 years earlier) and the 1690 Amsterdam auction list. Entranced, he spent his 20 years of political exile tracing Vermeer's work.

More recently, a Yale economist, M Montias, has written an archival thriller, charting Vermeer's and Catharina's extended families, and thereby fragments of his own life, It is a wonder that Vermeer survived on such a sparse output, in times when painters were notoriously prolific, churning out work with the help of large workshops. Montias calculates that Vermeer can have sold only two or three paintings a year.

This was the springtime of the Dutch nation, born out of a war of independence against Spain, Young Holland was self-conscious that it was the model of liberty, virtuous capitalism and northern nationhood. Vermeer shared this moral patriotism, as is clear from the bold maps that line the walls of many paintings. The View Of Delft proudly portrays his home town, and was described by Proust as "the most beautiful picture in the world".

It is fitting that Proust understood Vermeer's proud statement about Delft in this surreal manner. The cityscape is glorious but spectral and strange in the pale light of an unseen, timeless sun. In its resistance to absolutism - Catholic and Calvinist - Holland created an aperture for dichotomy and enigmaas well as freedom. For Vermeer, such tensions were heightened because he was a Protestant who converted to Catholicism in order to marry (his mother-in-law was

weighty Jesuit). The best history book to be written for years, Simon Schama's Embarrassment Of Riches, opens with a fanfare: "It is the peculiar genius of the Dutch to seem, at the same time, familiar and incomprehensible." This is the essence of Vermeer and the dichotomy that emerges as we view, for the first time, an exhibition from Vermeer's oeuvre.

So what does Vermeer paint? He aints light. His hues, luminosity and shadows are extraordinary assemble these paintings, and at the he is one of the few artists to understand the transparency of shadow. In Vermeer, light creates mood, be it diffuse, direct or reflected, soft or lambent, cold and still or warmly radiant. In his vernacular scenes, Vermeer paints mainly women to whom men, if they are present, play a subsidiary role. He paints love letters and their recipients. He paints winedrinking and music-making and women engaged in wholesome pursuits such as pouring milk or lacemaking. Vermeer's realism is so accomplished that it is often called "photographic". That is the pleasing

surface of things. It is important what Vermeer eyes of history as his painting. He does not paint. Time and time again, was born in 1632, son of a publican in he takes a popular genre and re-Delit. He himself became an moves the narrative context, leaving nukeeper, married Catharina Bolnes | the central players in sparse surin 1653 and later that year entered the painters' guild of St Luke. He had events. This leaves the mood of a children and died suddenly in work as its dominant quality and 1675, aged only 42, having — we | frees the subject in time, if not in

sion. Until the invention of photo-Until this exhibition, Vermeer had graphy, "the imitation of nature" been drawn from obscurity by two assumed almost liturgical significations assumed almost liturgical significance assumed assume



Detail from Girl With A Pearl Earring (1665-66)

thetic theory. But among the Dutch | He composed illogical but impactful this notion was elastic; maure and mathematics, once fully understood. could be worked on for effect. The theorist Sam van Hoogstraten wrote that the perfect painting was "like a mirror of Nature in which things that are not there appear to be there".

The Music Lesson depicts a favourite subject which Vermeer strips of usual details; keyboard. playing hands or manuscript. He warps perspective to create a vast space surrounding the couple. Light falls selectively and illogically. Vermeer paints the pupil with her back to us, but the mirror above the virginal shows her face and also the leg of Vermeer's easel, which, of course, alls to appear in the scene itself.

HERE is one Vermeer map, in the Allegory Of Painting (unfortunately missing from this exhibition), which depicts not the seven provinces of the contentporary Dutch republic but poignantly - the resplendent 17 of Renaissance times. Vermeer and the Renaissance: an intriguing but logical association, for Vermeer's technique, his mathematical trickery, the challenging stares, and spectral sense of mood have a predecessor: Piero della Francesca.

Almost alone among Renaissance painters, della Francesca paints those keen eyes that stare, challenge and spark a silent, inner conto paint silence, there is barely any suggestion of sound. As we view the collection, there is more that links these two, thereby illuminating Vermeer's mystery. Silence and the power of mood

are also achieved by mathematics. The Renaissance masters turned geometry from a craft into the liberal arts of perspective and disegno. Della Francesca used mathematical constructions which speak to the men. The first was the French critic cance at various junctions in see stillness in his didactic paintings. | crystalline light to dramatic compo | PO Box 523, London SW1E 6NT

constructions, such as three different eye-levels in the Resurrection Of

There is no evidence that Vermeer

went to Italy, and no evidence that he did not; some experts believe he trained there. But the influence of Italian masters blew at gale force across 17th century Dutch painting. And there is every indication that Vermeer was bewitched by the Italians' mathematical treatises and their applications to painting, optics and cartography. He used an Italian camera obscura device, which projected an image through a piu-hole.

Surveying the assembled work in Washington, one realises the degree to which Piero-esque trickery, using mathematics for thematic effect, is fundamental to Vermeer. But why Slowly, a single theme emerges, ir different ways, in different settings. The Woman Writing A Letter sits at her desk, set in an ingenious geometrical design: between three rectangular shapes, of which two are almost identical. The third, largest rectangle is an obscure paintingwithin-a-painting, reaching across the picture and finishing at the golden section. The woman looks up, straight at us. Her expression does not imply an unwelcome interruption. Everything in this painting — the business of her letter, her er-Vermeer. Indeed, both artists seem | sponsible. What this painting depicts is the moment itself.

In Woman Holding A Balance, Madonna-like figure is not weighing gold or pearls, as was presumed for centuries, but nothing. All that fills the scales are two drops of light (how fitting that one of Vermeer's most metaphysical paintings should involve weighing light). And the woman's pivotal significance is achieved by a vivid trick with light.

sitional and thematic effect. Her demeanour is one of peace with herself which echoes the balance struck with the scales. There is an articulated religious analogy: the paintingwithin-a-painting depicts the Last Judgment, balancing the scales of divine justice. The woman's balance is an intimate echo of the Apocalypse her own secular, temporal account of God's eternal judgment. So the most striking thing about this painting is the moment, in contrast to the scene on the wall that marks the end of time. The balance has just been struck. It could be disrupted by the slightest breath or movement. The woman's right hand with its stretched little finger is in a careful but fleeting position required to hold the balance, while the fingers of her right hand press sturdily on the table, suggesting permanence. The woman appears pregnant, throwing this painted moment forward into

The scholarly Geographer wears academic attire and has around him the equipment he needs for measurng mankind's world - compasses, books, a globe. These things locate him in time and in proud Holland. But he has looked up from this place and from these things, distracted from within, By what? We do not know, but we sense that this has just happened at the moment of our "arrival", and this coincidence in time gives the painting its dynamism, not the apparatus of schol-

BUT WILD about the Girl With A Pearl Enring, icon of the assembled work, brimful with contradictions? A series of questions occur: has she just turned her head towards us, anticlockwise, or is she about to turn away? Is our communion with this allusive figure about to commence or about to conclude? Is this mesmerising glance a greeting or a farewell? Her lucid eyes catch yours for a fleeting moment that seems to have lasted forever. The girl is at once defiant and vulnerable, sexual and chaste, simultaneously constituted of desire and confrontation. Already, the portrait is playing tricks with time. Does her half-open mouth mean that she is about to speak, or has spoken? The answer seems to be

both, at the very same moment. What is "a moment"? It is a measurement of the immeasurable, a unit of time. It was time itself that Piero was painting, an enterprise that marked him out from his own time. He is called the most "modern" of the old masters. By modern we usually mean timeless, and by timeless, we mean that he speaks to our time. And what better way to generate a sense of timelessness

than by painting time itself. In Vermeer, the enterprise recurs. The eternal is made of passing moments, and passing moments be-come eternal. Our lives are not built from a series of photographic snapshots without past or future. And mine jacket, a string of pearls — is | nor are Vermeer's paintings. They subordinate to the moment, for are composed of counterpoint beversation; the same hallmarks as which, in this instance, you are remaking them - in their way more "life-like" than any photograph. The most remarkable of all Wheelock was first to observe, the | the things that Vermeer paints is time itself.

> The Vermeer Exhibition shows at the National Gallery, Washington DC, until February 11; and at the Mauritshuls, The Hague, from March 1-June 2. Tickets for the Mauritahula must be booked for a specific date and time. Order forms from: Netherlands Board of Tourism,



Jenny Turner

Professor Caritas

y Steven Lukes

Verso 261pp £14.95

The Curlous Enlightenment of

# Pain in the body politic

David Miliband

The Hidden Wiring: Unearthing the **British Constitution** by Peter Hennessy Gollancz 261pp £17.99

The Monarchy and the Constitution by Vernon Bogdanor Oxford: Clarendon Press 328pp

T USED to be a standard family joke that no constitutional row would be complete without the appearance of Norman St John Stevas, now Lord St John of Fawsley, to re-assure the nation that all was well. Parliamentary mischief or royal mishap, Lord St John would be there, precedent at the ready, his unctious loyalty representing the Panglossian school of constitutional

commentary. Today, however, this sort of conultutional scholarship won't wash. Blind defence of the status quo is out, the demand for political institutions to justify themselves very much in.

Politicians are ranked with journalists and estate agents when it comes to public trust. And there is a pervasive sense that our political structures do not produce good government. Far from being a diversion from real politics, political reform is now essential.

Peter Hennessy, journalist and constitutional scholar, is the Bob Woodward of the British constitution, searching after well-hidder truths at the heart of British government. Following his successful investigations of the Cabinet and olain how the whole of our governng system fits together. He takes us through the five centres of nower monarchy, premiership, cabinet, Whitehall and Parliament. The tensive demystification — the press therefore ironic that today both guide to the constitutional DNA.

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What Hennessy describes is a | tions. Rules of succession, relations political system struggling to func-tion effectively. The Prime Minister, he says, needs to be a "grotesque composite freak" — the brains of Asquith, the dedication of Peel, the style of Macmillan and more - to do the job. Cabinet, Hennessy writes, is not able to play the decision-making role that the textbooks envisage.

civil list are all covered, as is the

history of the monarch's relation-

ship with the Commonwealth.

Dogged readers will find that the

smallest country of which the

Queen is head of state is the South

Bogdanor's case is that far from

being merely the ceremonial part of

the constitution identified by Bage-

hot a century ago, the constitu-

tional monarchy is central to the

efficient functioning of the unwrit-

ten constitution. "Constitutional

monarchy is a form of government

that ensures, not conservatism, but

legitimacy . . . The fundamental

case for constitutional monarchy is

that, under it, the head of state i

Of course, says Bogdanor, the

monarchy could be reformed. He

thinks the ban on a Roman Catholic

(or someone married to a Roman

Catholic) occupying the throne of-

ensive, wants the law of succession

reformed to make it gender-neutral

and is sympathetic to the idea of a

He thinks the monarchy has al-

ways found the capacity to mod-

ernise. The imperial monarchy of

Victoria was transformed into the

family monarchy of the two most re-

cent Georges. He now suggests a

practical monarchy, using the power of symbolic position to

further practical goals - standing

up against social exclusion, for

Hennessy quotes R H Tawney to

the effect that the UK accepted

democracy as a convenience, like

an improved telephone system.

Bogdanor's thesis is that monarchy and democracy are natural allies,

pressure for change, and more pop-

ular scepticism, than at any time

The "good chaps" theory of con-

stitutional practice highlighted by

Hennessy — the theory that people

in power will do the right thing

when the time contes — was not de-

signed for an age where a former Master of the Rolls thinks the Home

Secretary is behaving like a despot.

Too many chaps have shown them-

selves not to be good at all. And in

any case, what sort of way is that to

David Miliband is head of policy for

this century.

run a country?

Torry Blair

secularised monarchy.

free of party ties."

Pacific island of Tuvalu.

Parliament, meanwhile, scarcely able to reform itself, let alone check the executive. And, be says, the political role of the monarch is unclear - so much so that shortly before the 1992 election there was a desperate scramble to prepare for an inconclusive result. Only the civil service is given a clean-ish bill of health - and that remains demoralised, ground down by politicians who want their prejudices confirmed.

Hennessy cites, twice, Professor John Griffith's dictum that, in the UK, "the Constitution is what happens". Yet what happens is, on Hennessy's reading, driven far too much by events and far too little by

Difficult questions are avoided, relatively trivial ones dealt with. The urgent drives out the important. And still unresolved is the question of whether politics and politicians have the power to shape political structure to deliver policy, or whether, in fact, the system provides the rules, politics merely the

ERNON BOGDANOR, in The Monarchy And The Constitu-tion, looks at any tion, looks at one enduring part of this structure. He argues hat constitutional monarchy provides the right framework for the safe conduct of democratic politics. stability and change finely bal-His is not so much a work of excare of that - as exhaustive expla-Dr Bogdanor has written a defini-

tive treatment of the role of the British monarch, someone who, as he and Hennessy both put it, "religns but does not rule". His book is partihistory and part political science, a veritable Erskine May of monarchical practice. Given what Hennessy describes

as "fluidity surrounding the bundle of custom, precedent and procedure at the very heart of the Constitution", it should be required reading for aspirant monarchs.

Bogdanor ranges comprehen-sively across the sovereign's func-

# Against the odds

Women on the Margins; Three 17th-Century Lives by Natalie Zemon Davis Selknap/Harvard University Press 360pp £15.95

INTERVIEWED Natalie Davis a year ago. She lives in Princeton but was in Oxford as a visiting professor. We talked about her early life as a leftwing activist, about the writing that has made her one of the most important social historians of her generation, and about her film work (she wrote The Return Of Martin Guerre). It struck me then that she talks in stories: a question about political correctness was answered with a flow of campus tales; another about film by way of some fairly detailed plot summaries. She is fluent and witty and listening to her can be a delight, but it is also slightly frustrating for anyone looking for easy answers. Much the same can be with the church, finance and the said about her new book.

Women On The Margins is the study of three 17th century "femmes fortes", at least two of whom were, like Davis herself, consum nate storytellers. Taken together she hopes they will reveal some thing about the opportunities and limits upon women of the period. but she is characteristically loath to draw any conclusions.

The first is Marie de L'Incarna ion, founder and Mother Superior of the first Ursuline convent and school for girls in North America. She was born at Tours in 1599 and married off early to a silk-maker who died, leaving her with one son In her widowhood she became subject to visions and recorded he ecstasies "in words of fire". She took on a spiritual director, slept on planks and lacerated herself with nettles. So far, there was perhaps not much to distinguish her from millions of others swept up by the Counter-Reformation. But Marie was far from typical. While her son was still a child, she abandoned the world for the newly formed Ursuline convent at Tours, where she rapidly discovered in herself remarkable skills as a teacher, linguist

too small for Marie and, as she describes in a memoir written near the end of her life, she formed a plan for converting the femmes sauvages of the New World. Despite opposition from many of her male superiors, she found wealthy backers for her scheme and soon was presiding over a convent and mission in Quebec. Where male missionaries remained contemptuous of Amerindians even alter they had converted. Marie learnt Iroquoian and Algonquin, and took pleasure in conversing with her protégés, in many ways preferring

Davis's second subject, Glikl, aughter of Judah Leib, had, like Marie, no formal education but nevertheless is the author of the first autobiography of a Jewish woman that has come down to us. She was born in Hamburg in 1646, married while still a child, and with her trader hisband had 14 children of her own. After his early death, she set up a shop manufacturing stockings and trading in Jewels and worked hard at finding sultable partners for her children. Her seven volumes of Yiddish autobiography are an unusual mixing of memoir and parable. Her concerns — class and religion - reveal a woman charac-

teristic of her time and class. It is a chronicle of joys and sorrows, based around life and death, wealth and honour, exile and homecoming. Yet Davis finds something distinctive in the way Glikl uses story-telling to give meaning to her suffering and to remonstrate with God. Davis's final woman, Maria

Sibylla Merian, was the most independent of the three. She was an illustrator, born a year after Glild, into a family of Lutheran artists is Frankfurt By 13 she was already observing and drawing insects, and at 32, married with two children, she published her wonderful Trans formation And Singular Flowerfood Of Caterpillars, Shortly after, she seems to have undergone some sort of religious conversion, left her husband and joined the ascetic commune of the Labadists. Unlike Marie de L'Incarnation, though, her zeal waned, and after five years she departed for Amsterdam, where she became a prominent teacher, artist and naturalist. In her fifties she made a brave and entirely uncon ventional expedition to the Dutch colony of Surinam, where she spent two years discovering, breeding and recording its plants and insects. Re turning to Amsterdam, she published the beautifully-illustrated Metamorphosis Of The Insects Of Suriname. Her way of depicting plants and insects was singular, and, Davis suggests, owed something to her sex; where her male contempo raries saw sperimens in isolation. Merian depicted animals in their natural habitat and followed them through their life cycle.

IER BOOK on Surinam also subtly questioned the as-sumptions on which European colonisation rested - she listened to the native populations, and implicitly criticised the conditions of slaves. Her vision was ecological and ethnographic.

Davis's finely wrought book works as a triptych; each life is closely observed, but thrown into relief by its relation to the others. Where Marie de L'Incarnation's minimised the differences between herself and the Amerindians, Merian was sensitive o their peculiarity; Glikl identified with her family, Marie experienced hera as a burden; Merian's faith waned, Glikl's remained steady

But there were affinities, 100. the most fundamental level, al three were determined women who asserted the self "against what life had meted out"; all three were summoned, in true 17th century fashion, "by sudden spiritual openings" Above all, they were open to the str ries other people tell about themselves, and ignored established literary and artistic genres in favour

These traits are also the less there is a sense in which each of lives she describes has something of Davis in it. After a while you r alise she is offering them as models - or even vindications - of the sort of close observation and story telling that is her trademark.

of unorthodox hybrids.

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tas take on his role impersonally? Not a blt of it. Even as he is flying from university to university, like a refugee from a Malcolm Bradbury bagatelle, Caritas knows that his peloved son is risking his life with the Hand. Even his daughter, whose TEVEN LUKES has, for only crime is to be an active demany years, been one of Britain's top left-liberal politifender of the most minimal human

cal philosophers. Usually, he writes ober, historical studies of rationality and relativism, Marxism and morality, all the big left-liberal political theory themes. And yet, the man has now published his first novel and it has a talking owl in it. A middle-aged, liberal historian wakes up one morning to find himself arrested by the secret police. His crime? The military junta has dentified him as a propagandist in the cause of Optimism, the evil deology which says there is always a point to struggling on, And the guerrillas of the sinister Visible Hand have identified Caritas as a likely subversive too. "You are responsible for our Optimism, yet you ever took that responsibility seriously. You gave us hope, but you never thought it part of your task to

ied," mutters one of them as he springs his former lecturer from iail. Under cover of the name Pangloss. Caritas is to travel to as many different political régimes as he may find. Wherever he visits, be it Julitaria or Communitaria, Libertaria or the Atlantis-like Egalitaria. ie is to report on the state of the soial fabric he finds there. Does Cari-

ee whether that hope was justi-

rights, has been forced into hiding

on pain of torture and death. Readers will have noticed by now the odd Enlightenment in-joke creeping in. There is that neat reversal of loltaire, and the even nicer one of Adam Smith's old Invisible Hand supposedly keeping the most chaotic of economies all spruce and sorted out. The talking owl is discovered in the shabby township of Minerva, just after Caritas has eaten an omelette at the downbeat Hegel Café . . . Such inokes may convey two important surprises to a reader who knows about political philosophy only in its dreary contemporary form. They suggest that great philosophy has much to do with images, of which that damed owl is only the most beautiful. And they suggest that political theory is a thing to take pleasure in, quite friendly enough a canon to enjoy the odd dig in the ribs.

At the beginning of his adven tures, Caritas is sitting in his cell, conducting an imaginary chat with Kant. "Enlightenment," says Kant, 'is man's emergence from his selfncurred immaturity. The motto of enlightenment is: Have the courage to use your own understanding!" Lukes makes Kant sound as bracing as a present-day cognitive-behav-

of what is most wise about psychotherapy comes from Kant in the first place. And that's why Kant heaven knows how many ostensible hilosophical revolutions later, still Public Friend Number One Lukes's comedy of ideas.

Public Friend Number Two? That vision of the total connectedness of all human endeavour, heralded by Hegel's squinty-faced owl. But what sort of people does Caritas find there, between Kant and Hegel, to help him on his way? In the hideously right-on Communitaria, i is a bunch of nihillstic students who hide out in their college study-bed rooms, there to claim their freedom not to belong to anything if they don't want to. In the horribly familiar free-market hell of Libertaria, it's a group of troubled souls who have been thrown out of their psychiatric beds. And then, on his journey to wards the future, our footsore professor is much heartened by the sight of a bunch of nouveaux hippies hanging out in the trees. In this book, however, the re

fuseniks no longer find themselves stranded on their own. A kindly and cultured old gentleman has come along to argue things out with them as they go on life's way. Call it education, call it dialectic, call it a solid belief in the importance of testing ideas across the boundaries of generation and social class. Such are the Enlightenment values at the core of Steven Lukes's thinking. And such is the delightfully edifying comedy that this novel is all about

Omelette in the Hegel Café | Saying it with feeling

Alex Clark

HarperCollins 288pp £9,99

IN THE first story in this collection of 16, father and daughter spar on the telehone. The daughter is contemolating a sex change to better connect with her lesbian lover.

who used to be a man. Wouldn't it have been simpler to both stay the way you started out?" asks the bemused father. His daughter is understandably dismissive: "Simplicity is not the bject of the exercise." Neither is it the object of the story itself, which contains an ageing nuclear acientist, a manipulative New Age journalist called daughters, gender confusion, various sexual couplings and the mysterious plutonium-like substance, Red Mercury.

Weens is a character in H G Wells's The Time Machine, one of the peaceable Eloi who are harvested by the evil subterranean Morlocks, both races standing as a metaphor for a divided world. In Weldon's schematic world, the two racca are generally men and women. so it is surely ironic that this Weena is the dangerous force. the woman who sets herself against other women. Significant, too, that the scientist regards her as less toxic than she really is: "So little strontlum in her bones!", the implication being that stupidity, wilful or otherwise, is the necessary condition for destructiveness to flourish. Weldon is at her best when she

framework in which to work out her concerns. Elsewhere, she has asked what we want of fiction if not to explain the world. and the least successful of these pieces are too fragmentary and oblique to explain anything of

Although Weena is definitely a wicked woman, men are still the villains in most of the stories, revenge still a dominant emotion: in "Leda and the Swan" a man regarded as a natural swimmer threatens suicide when his wife makes the Olympic team; a smug civil servant hosts the local Women's Liberation Group while his wife is in labour upstairs, an experience universalised and historicised by its title, "Pains, A Story of Most Contemporary Women, 1972"; throughout, men commit adultery and coerce and blackmail and betray the marital home.

Compared with therapists. however, men are angels. The last section of the book, entitled "Going to the Therapist", reprises the theme, introducing a home-wrecking quack figured as Santa Claus and, fittingly, denounced by the family's younges child, and the ghoulish figure of the Pardoner, who demands vost sums of money in return for implanting false memory into the mind of a neurotic young woman The therapist is always female, repressive and given to banal generalisation, her patients somehow unable to see through her. As polemic, it lacks subtlety: sheer strength of feeling carries the day at the crucial moment but can seem oddly redundant

#### Ring-a-ding time

My Lucky Stars y Shirley MacLaine

29.813 qq918 matnet ooking for Gataby: My Life by Faye Dunaway, with Betsy Sharkey HarperCollina 416pp £16.99

NE of the best lines of the year turns up in Shirley MacLaine's affectionate but exasperated por-trait, in My Lucky Stars, of Robert air. She used to enjoy asking him the time, she says, just to get a straight answer. MacLaine is shrewd and frank on

the subject of acting and its tyranny of insecurity", which produces a breed that is narcissistic beyond belief, yet afraid of the mirror; Such anxious self-regard makes sincerity a problem and any actress plays games of emotional brinkmanwith her leading man. MacLaine is unsparing on her own imiliations, which include learning that her affair with Yves Monind was the result of a bet between Montand and her husband.

On-set vignettes reveal a smar grasp of the dark currents of film making, an essentially raw and predatory process, as shown by her account of how she and two other stars rounded on a director after sensing his weakness and went for the jugular. An on-set row turned into a pointless two-and-a-half hour guarrel about a move that had to do with looking out of the window, until "our own exhaustion finally wore us down and now I can't even remember if we looked out of the window or not." It is a shame that Macthis lucky dip into her variable career. She is sharp when it comes to her friendship with Slnatra and the late Dean Martin and confirms Martin as true Menefreghista -- loosely meaning someone who couldn't care less. At his peak Martin could have had anything or anyone; yet, for all | "Where Do You Go To My Lovely" his apparent gregariousness, he preonce, admonished Sinatra in Mac-Laine's presence for beating up a

old men, Sinatra still insisted on - suggest that, whatever the rering-a-ding time after the show, but | wards, the price isn't worth it.

waiter while he was trying to watch

Martin slipped quietly away, no longer bothered with his previous excuse that he had "a broad waiting". MacLaine writes movingly of Martin's slow fade and his enigma.

She is cannier than most on Mitchum, another passive, complex man. "If Hollywood was Atlantis," she writes, "Robert Mitchum was He had no desires, not in relation to food, an evening out or an evening in." Once, on a dirty weekend in London, they bumped into Faye Dunaway and Marcello Mastroianni doing the same. The encounter is not in Dunaway's Looking For Gatsby, which is far more guarded than MacLaine's book, and too often comes across sa a tick-list of achievements - marry rock star, have affair with international film star, win Oscar, have child. Dunaway's ambition and serious-

ness were never in doubt - compared with MacLaine, she appears driven. Her problem was always to what extent was she a fashion plate or real actress, in spite of the patronage of directors like Elia Kazan. If it took a malignant Roman Polanski to drag a great performance out of her in Chinatown, she fails to recognise acting. Too often, she has looked distracted on screen or settled for being an old-fashioned style star lending herself to unworthy pro-These forlorn memoirs read as

though Dunaway has listened to once too often: "I would have to say ferred to drink alone with the TV. He | that I have never really been to Florence, though I have been through it hundreds of times in a Ferrari." Her descriptions of the insulation of fame - first-class travel, interior de-When touring for the last time, as signers, drama coaches and shrinks

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# Imagination grows wild

Paul Evans

HE WOODS are cold and wet milky sky. Without the leaves, some think of these woods as dead, or else biding until the spring awakening, spellbound. But as I walk between the trees, I feel the woods are most alive. The veil has fallen, revealing their naked

Wilderness is beyond human governance. It is that potential of nature which carries significance from the past to the future. On the fresh snow, footprints appear and vanish. But some are missing. Spoor that belong to the spirit of these woods will never mark the snow and may only be tracked in the far reaches of the imagination.

They say you can't miss what you never had. But I've never been convinced of this. I miss the steam rising from a "sounding" of wild boar, their razor-backs huddled together in the frozen dawn of winter woods I miss the slap of beaver's tail on willow ponds. I miss the solatice how ing from the dark blood of history into the empty, echoing new year. And yet I have no memory of these animals. They were all wiped out in Britain centuries ago.

It is fashionable now to close the the landscapes which mean so sive "management".

up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock". The prob--- stark branches against a lem with this is that the strata of memory are broken. There are great fissures of forgetfulness. We remember what we last remembered, even if that was false.

Our culture emerged from nature, but it emerged, fearfully, in opposition to it. The loss of boar, beaver, bear and wolf from the woods I walk are testament to that.

The escalating loss of wildlife and habitats from the world has not been prevented by the cherished memories of European culture for nature; in fact, they may have been hastened by it. How do we tell the Ogoni people of the Niger delta that their lands, destroyed by European companies, are any less important than these? Double standards make the "indivisibility" of nature and culture at best wishful thinking, at worst a horrible lie. To know that there are forests

eleewhere in the world that have not lost their megafauna (yet) only of wolves on the longest night, call- makes the loss here more poignant. To have lived and worked in the forests of New England showed me how possible it is for the forests themselves to return. In Old England, only 10 per cent of the forest remains - tattered fragments begap between nature and human cul- sieged by urban development, agriure — "they are, in fact indivisi- culture and intensive forestry; ble," writes Simon Schama in hacked up by roads; and messed Landscape And Memory. He claims | about by well-intentioned but intruChess Leonard Barden

△ NATOLY KARPOV has been writing about super-miniatures decisive games of 12 moves o fewer, played by the world champi ons. They include one of Karpov's most embarrassing moments, against Larry Christiansen at Wijk 1993, where his attempted opening improvement at move 11 led to his resignation one turn later: 1 d4 Nf6 2 c4 e6 3 Nf3 b6 4 a3 Ba6 5 Qc2 Bb7 6 Nc3 c5 7 e4 cxd4 8 Nxd4 Nc6 9 Nxc6 Bxc6 10

Resigns. Recounting this defeat in the German magazine Europa-Rochade also enabled Karpov to inderline his own resilience: he recovered to win first prize at Wijk, ust as Spain's Illescas did after losing in 12 in last month's game at inares.

Bf4 Nh5 11 Be3 Bd6?? 12 Qd1

None of the 21 world champion super-miniatures that were listed by Sarpov compares in quality with Sadler's win over Illescas, but they do include another of the rare coincidences — two decisive games of significant length being exact duplicates — that I discussed here on December 17:

Alekhine v Nenarokov, Tchigorin Defence, Moscow 1907

d4 d5 2 c4 Nc6 3 cxd5 Qxd5 Nt3 Bg4? An early mistake. Best s e5 5 Nc3 Bb4. 5 Nc3 Qa5 6 d5! 0-0-0 7 Bd2 Bxf3 8 exf3 Nb4 Black hopes simply to win the d5 pawn, 9 a3! Nxd5 10 Na4! Resions. Black's nucen is trapped. Remarkably, this same trap was also sprung by Tolush against Aronson at Leningrad 1965.

these woods. Recently the fossilised skeleton of a giant elephant, far big-Vladimir Kramnik, the most successful tournament player of 1995, incovered in the Norfolk dunes. Alshared first prize at Belgrade in November in an event where Britain's these great animals, can't we feel Michael Adams recovered well from their shuddering footfalls, their a poor start: Gelfand and Kramnik crashing through the trees? These scored 8/11, Shirov 6.5, Topalov 6, Adams, Ivanchuk and Timman 5.5, Leko 5. Ljubojevic 4.5. Belyavsky where wilderness flourishes and Lautier 4, Miladinovic 3.5. where it reaches out, leading us into

Belgrade's final round brought vet another miniature, where Kram- | king in check.

nik blows down Black's solid pawn

Vladimir Kramnik-Alex Belyavsky, Reti Opening

1 Nf3 d5 2 g3 c6 3 Bg2 Bg/ 4 0-0 Nd7 5 d4 e6 6 Nbd2 571 A dubious idea in association with Bg4, but it takes superb play to

7 c4 Bd6 8 Qb3 Rb8 9 Rel Nh6 10 cxd5 cxd5 11 h3 Bh5 12 c4!! The very move the stonewall was designed to prevent. fxe4 13 Ng5! Bf7 if Qxg5 14 Nxe4 Qe7 15 Bg5 Qf8 16 Qxd5:

exd5 17 Nxd6 mate. 14 Ndxe4! dxe4 15 Nxe6 Bxe6 16 Qxe6+ Qe7 17 Rxe4 Kd8 The exchange of queens fails to save Black: Qxe6 18 Rxe6+ Be7 19 Bxh6 Kf7 (gxh6 20 Rae1) 20 Bd5 Nf6 21 Bb3 gxh6 22 Rae1 wins

18 Qd5 Resigns, Slightly pre-mature, but if Ql8 19 Bg5+ Nf6 20 Re6 Kd7 21 Rae1 followed by h4 and Bh3 with decisive threats.

No 2402



White to move; what should be the result? White's pawn chain looks impressive, but Black is two

No 2401: 1 Kb1. If Bc3 2 Rf4, Bg3 2 Rd4, or h2 2 Bxg2, or Nh7 2 Qg6. The key is explained by the tries 1 Rd1? Nf4 and 1 Rf1? Nd4 when 2 Rxf4(d4)? leaves White's

Your problem is a simple one:

January 7 1996 Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

JUARDIAN WEEKLY

#### **Shearer haulmark**

LAN SHEARER became the | Chisholm, met the organisers of the Premiership goals when he netted against Tottenham Hotspur at Ewood Park at the weekend, conlemning the London side to their first away defeat of the season.

The Blackburn frontman has scored in every one of Rovers' Premiership home games so far this scason. He adds a further 19 European and domestic competition goals to his tally for a total of 119 goals since 1992. Shearer's nearest remiership challenger is Les Ferinand of Newcastle, with 78 goals. Rovers' manager, Ray Harford, said: "Alan is a true role model for

everybody, not just footballers, be-

Shearer: a ton of goals

cause he behaves so admirably and his 100 goals are remarkable. Don't forget he missed a whole season because of a terrible injury and still he has done this."

G EORGE WEAH, AC Milan's 29-year-okl Liberian striker, has been named Europe's top footballer. ale was presented in Paris with the prestigious Golden Ball award for 1995 — the first year non-European players have been eligible for the tonour. Germany's Jürgen Klinsmann was second and Finland's Jari ilmanen came third.

ACK CHARLTON stepped down as manager of the Repubic of Ireland after 10 years in the hot seat. His decision to go followed the country's failure to reach the European Championship finals in England this year. During his time n charge, Charlton turned Ireland nto one of the top sides in world ootball, leading them to the World Cup quarter-finals in 1990, and they lost only 17 of the 93 matches they played with him at the helm.

FAI president Louis Kilcoyne said he Irish people should be grateful to Charlton for his achievements as hish manager. "Jack has steered our team to levels of success never hefore achieved and he helped to luge debt of gratitude for all he has done for football in this country in the last 10 years,"

the FA Cup and Grand Prix motor-racing to its TV rivals, faces a sporting crown, the Olympic Games, Rupert Murdoch is negotiating to take the Games in a £200 million bid that could see the event disappear from British terrestrial

first footballer to score 100 | Sydney Olympics in Australia with a view to capturing the European tele-vision rights. If Murdoch obtains the rights he will be able to sell them on to the highest bidder in each European country. That would mean his own Sky Sports channel winning in Britain.

> ■ EW ZEALAND cricketers, who have had a terrible season, will go into the World Cup fray on the Indian sub-continent having had their faith in their own abilities restored after leaving their best performance in the one-day series against Pakistan till last. They beat the visitors by 32 runs in the final encounter at Eden Park, Auckland, to square the series 2-2. The home side made 244 for eight, with valuable contributions from Craig Spearman (48), Adam Parore (42) and Roger Twose (41). Despite the best efforts of Salim Malik, who plundered 58 off 52 balls for the tourists, Pakistan were all out for 212.

ESPITE a gallant knock of 143 Asanka Gurusinha, Sri Lanka's left-handed No 3, Australia defeated the visitors by 10 wickets in the second Test at Melbourne and won the series. Scores: Australia 500 for 6 declared and 41 without loss; Sri Lanka 233 and 307.

RIGLAND will break new ground this year when they undertake their first cricket tour of Zimbabwe. The tour, which will be followed by a visit to New Zealand, will run from November 30 to January 3. It will include two Tests the first between the two countries and three one-day internationals. The England tour will mean that Zimbabwe will have hosted all the Test-playing nations except Aus-tralia and West Indies.

G ARY KASPAROV, world's No 1 chess player for 10 years with hardly a break, has been toppled from his perch - by his own protégé. Top place on this month's in ternational Chess Federation list goes to Vladimir Kranınik, a 20-yearold Muscovite. The federation's official figures give Kramnik and Kasparov 2,775 points, with Anatoly Karpov third on 2,770. Kramnik placed first because he has played more games than Kasparov.

N IGERIA have pulled out of this month's African Nations Foot ball Cup in South Africa because of expose the game into every corner of ireland," he said. "We owe Jack a of nine minority rights activists in following last November's hanging utes from the end - in the secdefiance of an international outcry. Jim Nwobodo, the sports minister, claimed threats which "bordered on life and death" had been received,

Jung's statement that he never in-

Football Premiership: Tottenham Hotspur 4 Manchester United 1

# Armstrong stalls United challenge

David Lacey

A ANCHESTER UNITED'S pursuit of Newcastle at the top of the Premier League stalled on Monday night as Tottenham Hotspur shrugged aside their own injury problems to punish the chronic weaknesses that have suddenly arisen in Alex Ferguson's de-

Thus Newcastle went into Tuesday evening's home game against Arsenal in a position to re-establish the seven-point lead with which they left Old Trafford after last Wednesday's 2-0 defeat.

On New Year's Day four years ago Queens Park Rangers won 4-1 at Old Trafford to set off a chain of events which saw Manchester United pipped for the title by Leeds. Whether the similar victory by Spura will have a similar effect remains to be seen. But it would be difficult to deny after Monday that United have hit a crisis.

The events at White Hart Lane wiped out the burgeoning confidence which had offset United's pre-Christmas defeats at Liverpool and Leeds. Having lost Irwin from their back four. In addition to Bruce and Pollister. United suffered a further setback when Schmeichel strained a calf muscle during the warm-up.

The Danish goalkeeper struggled through the first half, conceding two goals, and then gave way to Pilkington, who was on the bench only because Scholes had had to pull out at the last minute with a stomach upset. Even before Pilkington's arrival, however, the United defence had displayed worrying glass-jaw tendencies.

William Prunier, a prospective signing from Bordeaux, looked as Ultimately United were over-



Keane: crucial to United's title hopes but thwarted at Tottenham

lost against Tottenham as he had appeared capable against QPR two days earlier. Of the Frenchman's qualities as a skilful, constructive centre-back there can be little doubt but against Sheringham and Arm strong he floundered.

Tottenham, however, went into the match with manifold troubles of their own. Mabbut had joined a casualty list which included Fox, Howells and Dozzell, which meant Nethercott joining Calderwood in central defence. Caskey and Camp bell faced an ebullient Kenne in midfield, and Rosenthal and Dumitrescu gave Spurs width.

Despite some inspired moments from Giggs, Cantona and Cole the back four retained its shape, and Campbell's success in denying Keane the sort of evening he had enjoyed against Newcastle was crucial to the result

ham and Armstrong which has not brought Tottenham a total of 27 goals since Klinsmann's departure. Once Sheringham, with a header, and Armstrong, with a fiercely struck shot, had hit post and angle in the opening 10 minutes, the tone of the evening was set.

Armstrong set up Tottenham's brief initial lead in the 35th minute, feeding the ball low into the middle where Sheringham, in a lot of space, had time to correct a poor first touch before beating Schmeichel.

United's response was masterful, An exchange of passes between Phil Neville and Butt turned the Smirs defence on the left and Neville's low cross allowed Cole to score his fourth goal in as many matches.

Yet United's problems at the back persisted and led to Spurs going back in front on the stroke of halftime. Parker reached Austin's cross alread of Sheringham but could only clear the ball to Campbell, who scored confidently.

Within three minutes of the sec ond half Pilkington had been beaten. Yet again a high cross, fron Caskey on the left, caused trouble for United. Rosenthal nodded the ball back and Armstrong stooped low to bead it in.

As Rosenthal blocked Butt's short on the line, before Walker stopped Cantona's attempt to score from the rebound and Cole hooked the ball just wide, the contest looked far roni over,

But in the 66th minute Armstrong chested a cross on to Sheringham and then beaded the ball past Pilkington after his fellow striker had chipped it back into the middle. It was the first time Spurs had beaten United since April 1990.

Rugby Union Heineken European Cup semi-finals

U NTIL last Saturday one could have said that this was runneth over. They had won 10 matches on the trot and had taken the Smithwick's Inter-Provincial Championship for th

score — a smart drop goal by the

Despite an early drop goal

Taylor and the centre Mike Hall. both converted by Davies, but two penalty goals from McGowan left Leinster in with a shout at 6-17 after 15 minutes, and excellent running by their left-wing Conor O'Shea, McGowan and the acrum-half Alain Rolland culminated in a try for Chris

McGowan's failure with a difficult conversion was excusable and just before half-time he and Davies exchanged penalty goals: 14-20 plus wind advantage in the second period left Leinster atill serious contenders. But the failure of their jumpers to cope with Derwyn Jones in the lineouts proved disastrous.

In the other semi-final, Toulouse, beaten only once at home in the past eight years, were rarely troubled by a Swansea side with only one away win to their credit this season.

The visitors mounted a brave earguard action but were generally outclassed and would have lost by an even wider margin than 30-3 but for some casual back play by the cup favourites.

The French champions meet their Weish counterparts Cardiff in the final on Sunday, but this semi-final did not foster a mood of anticipation; even in the freez-ing weather there was more perspiration than inspiration.

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP
Arsenal 1, Wimbledon 3, Bleckburn 2,
Tottenham 1; Bolton 1, Coventry 2; Chelsee
2, Liverpool 2; Coventry 1, Southampton 1;
Everton 2, Leeds 0, Leeds 0, Blackburn 0;
Liverpool 4, Notim Forest 2; Man C 2, West
Harn 1; Man Uld 2, OPR 1; Middlesbrough
0, A Villa 2; Notim Forest 1, Middlesbrough
0, Sheff Wed 4, Bolton 2; Tottenham 4, Man
Litd 1; Wimbledon 2, Everton 3, Leeding
poettions: 1, Navycaste (played 20, points
45); 2, Man Uld (22-41); 3, Liverpool (21-38).

ENDSLEIGH LEAGUE; First Divisions
Derby 2, Norwich 1; Grimsby 1, Huddersfield
1; Huddersfield 1; Stoke 1; ipswich 5, Port
Vale 1; Milwall 1, Leicester 1; Norwich 3,
Reading 3; Portsmouth 2, C Palace 3;
Reading 1, Transper 0; Southend 0,
Bernsley 0; Wolves 2, Portsmouth 2,
Leading positions: 1, Derby (26\*46); 2,
Charton (24-39); 3, Leicester (24-38).

Second Division: Brighton 1, Stockport 1 Oartsie 1; Blackpool 2; Shrewsbury 1, Cartsie 1, Leading positioner 1, Crawe (22-44); 2, Swindon (22-44); 3, Blackpool (22-39).

Torquey 2, Colchester 3, Leading posi-tions: 1, Gillingham (22-43); 2, Chester (23-42): 3, Preston (22-41).

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE: Premier Division: Hibernan 2, Hearta 1; Pangers 7 Hibernan O. Leading positionet 1. Rangers (20-49); 2, Celtic (18-41); 3. finemian (20-28).

First Division: Dundes Utd 2, Akdris 2. Leading positions: 1, Duniermine (18-37) 2, Dunies Utd (20-38); 3, Greenock M (18-

Second Division: All games postponed. Leading positions: 1, East Pile (17-39), 2, Stirling (18-36); 3, Bervick (17-28),

#### Quick crossword no. 295

1 2 3 4 6 6 1 Hushi (5,6) 9 Not seen (9) 10 Pegret — er evergreen (3) 11 Shinbone (5) 13 Conveyed banks (7) 14 Merry-making (6) 15 End of pain (6) 18 One legally holding another's 20 Purchaser (5) 21 Old name for 24

newt (3) 22 I'm real bad (anagram) (9) 24 Tall spiky, garden plant (3-3,5)

2 Large tea. container (3) 3 Competitor (7 4 Make calm (6)

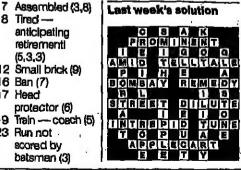
(9)

(5,3,3)12 Small brick (9) 16 Ban (7) 17 Head protector (6) 19 Train -- coach (5) 5 Arctic duck (5) 23 Run not 6 Submissiveness scored by batsman (3)

8 Tired ---

anticipating

retirementi



#### **Bridge** Zia Mahmood

Conservationists are negotiating

to "give nature space". Around the

world there is debate and innova-

tion precipitated from ideas shifting

around the notions of wilderness

and ecosystem restoration. Conser-

vationists negotiate between various

interest groups for an outcome

which favours the "natural". But what is this "natural" and can we re-

ally replace that which we've lost?

The past itself is lost to us. Memory

through the trees, leaving no mark.

gotiation" - and this is to find our

way. To find our way in the world, to

find our way in nature requires

more than the critical debate quar

ried from science and aesthetics. I

requires imagination — that place

where we confront our fears of na-

ture, "Tyger! Tyger! burning bright,

In the forests of the night," wrote

William Blake, To Blake, "nature is

A few years ago the remains of a

nammoth was unearthed in a

gravel pit just a few miles from

ger than an African elephant, was

hough we have no memory of

woods are places where the imagi-

nation grows - an imagination

fearful of the shadows gliding

There is another meaning of "ne-

OF the reasons I love the game of bridge is that there are no absolutely right answers to anything. Bridge is not a game that can be played mechanically, according to a series of rules. You have to use not only your brain and your memory but your imagination and your creative spark to avoid the traps that lurk in even the simplest position.

To show you what I mean, here is deal from the recent invitation teams event at the Roehampton Club. This tournament gives the ordinary club player a chance to pit his ainst teams of experts in a friendly contest that is both a serious competition and a great social event.

s solution	-6
AK ONEMT O O O ELUTALE A REMEDY O DILUTE E I O EUD TUNE	West ♦ 1076 ♥ 92 ♦ 10864 ♣ A Q 106

♠ A9832 ♥QJ64 **4932 ★** 154 - i - i Q 106 South

◆J97532

♥ A 10 8-7 ◆ K Q · J875 · KQ ♥K53

your hand, which card should you play on the lead of a low club from your right-hand opponent? A machine would play the king. So would a man who plays with his

with \$932 in dummy and \$K4 in

head and not his heart, for he will tell you that playing the king will win a trick half the time and not matter the other half. But sometimes you have to throw away the percentage tables and listen to your magination. Love all, dealer South (see table below left). North-South were experts, but

you would not have thought so from the bidding, because they arrived in precarious three diamonds. West ed the nine of hearts, which East ducked. South won with the king. cashed the king and queen of spades, led a low diamond to dummy and cashed the ace of spades to discard a heart. A fourth spade was led from dummy, on which South threw his last heart as West ruffed with the six of diamonds. West played a heart

to the six and ten. South ruffed and led a low diamond to East's queen, arriving at this position having lost two tricks (see table above right), if East had

None ♥QJ 932 ♠ None ♥ None # A Q 10 6 · None ♥ None **♦ 197** 

ruffed. West could overruff, but would then have to let South's king of clubs score the ninth trick. S East correctly led a low club, and South correctly played low! West could win with the ten and cash the ace, but that was all. If South had played the king of clubs, West could have won with the ace, led a low club to East's jack, and scored the ten of

diamonds on East's heart lead. Of course, East might have beater the contract by winning the ace of hearts at the first trick and playing a club, while South could have discarded clubs rather than hearts on dum my's spades. But that would have played a heart, South would have been soulless, mechanical play.

None

♠ K4

THE BBC, which recently lost

The head of BSkyB, Sam tended to carry out his threats.

#### Irish are out of luck

Karl Johnston and David Plummer

fears for the safety of their players | scrum-half Andy Moore 12 min-

ICHAEL JUNG, a 29-year-old German who threatened to serious threat to the jewel in its kill Boris Becker and his family in a bizarre extortion case, was convicted by a Munich court and given a suspended two-year sentence. He was also ordered to undergo psychi atric treatment. The court accepted

a season in which Leinster's cup first time since 1983.

Like Smithwick's, Heineken i brewed in Ireland. But this parlicular cup was dashed from Leinster's hands 14-23 in the semi-final bere by a Welsh club whose only previous visit was in Leinster conceded only one

and half and themselves deserved more than 14 points. But the fly-half Alan McGowan fluffed two relatively easy kicks just after half-time, having also missed a difficult conversion, and with 10 minutes or so to go Leinster's decision to take tapped penalties instead of going for goal kicks was simply point-

from the Cardiff fly-half Adrian Davies, Leinster gave as good as they got in the first balf. Cardiff's slick running and quick thinking led to tries by the No 8 Hemi

Football results

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP

, Third Division: Bury 0, Harilepool 3; Exeler 1, Chester 2; L Orient 0, Gillingham 1 Plymouth 2, Exeler 2; Preston 5, Carolif 0;

Third Division: Queon's Pk 1; Ross County 1; Queens Park 5, Albion 1, Leading positions: 1, Livingston (17-34); 2, Brechin (18-32); 3, Ross County (18-29).